

IN THESE TIMES



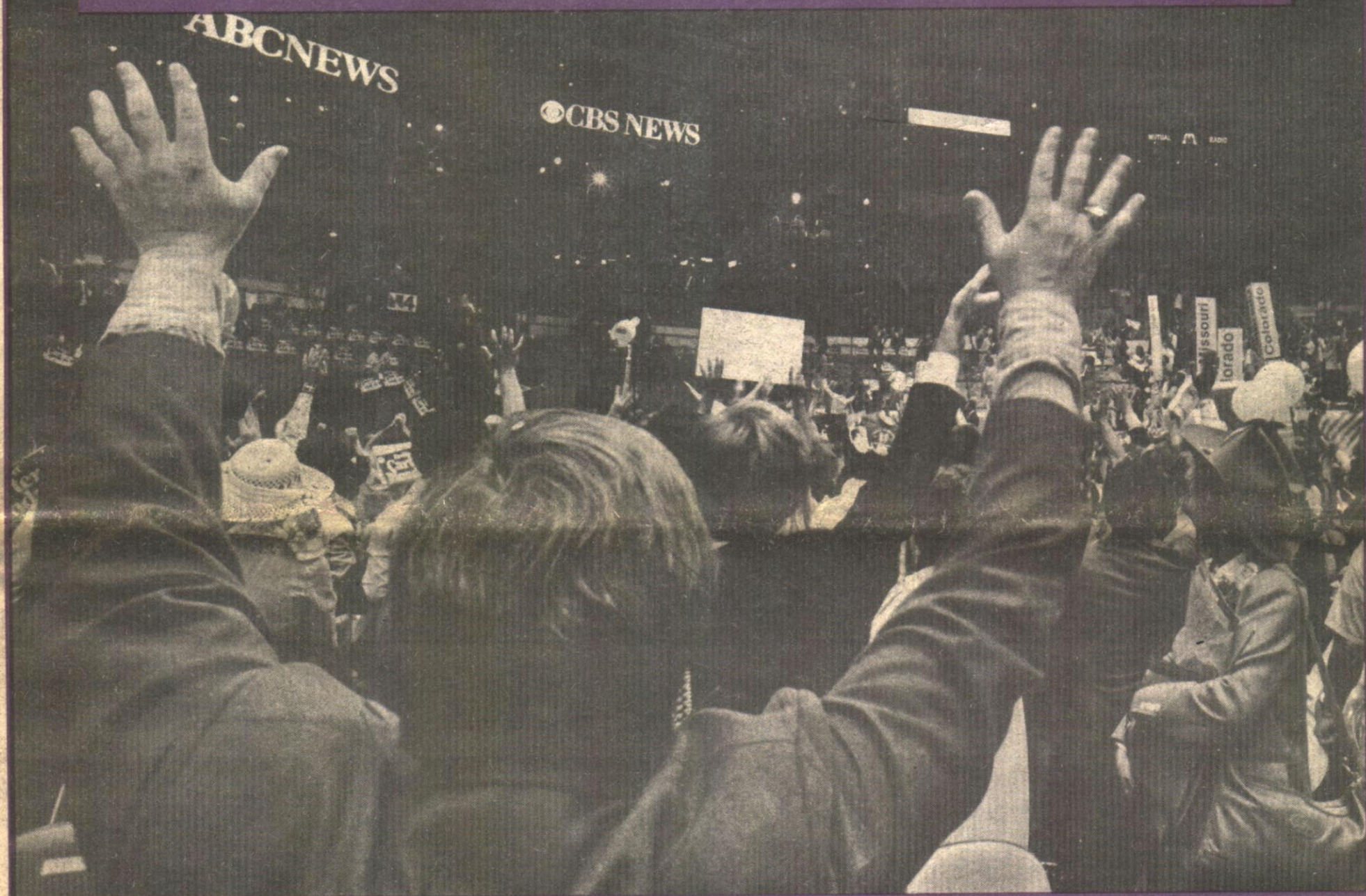
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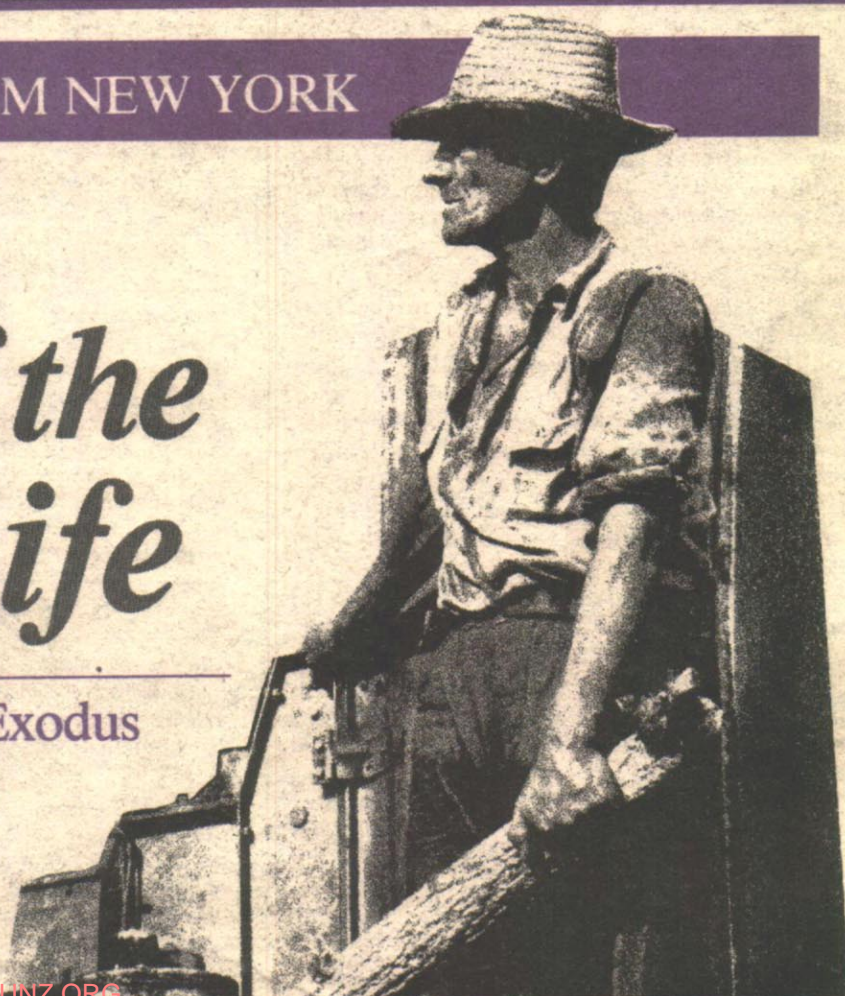


Andrew Popper

MOBERG & JUDIS REPORT FROM NEW YORK

The Lure of the Good Life

Cubans react to the Exodus



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Mei Rosenthal

THE INSIDE STORY



NOW president Eleanor Smeal

Feminist coalition faces down the Carter campaign

By Jo Freeman

"Women came of age politically," summed up Sally Lunt of Massachusetts, a longtime activist in both the women's movement and the Democratic Party. "We forced support of platform language to implement the Equal Rights Amendment despite an administration mentality that does not recognize that women have political power."

The language was minority report number ten, which added to an already strong ERA plank the promise that "the Democratic Party shall offer no financial support and technical campaign assistance to candidates who do not support the ERA." It, and minority report number 11, which added support of government funding for abortions for poor women to the support for the 1973 Supreme Court decision already in the platform, became the focus of feminist activities at the 1980 Democratic convention.

Feminists were organized into the Coalition for Women's Rights by Iris Mitgang, president of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) and Elie Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW). While the Coalition was primarily a leadership group consisting of the heads of the major feminist organizations, elected officials, funding sources and media stars, the troops came primarily from the approximately 20 percent of the delegates who were NWPC or NOW members, and the staffing was supplied by the NWPC.

During the last year the NWPC held 22 workshops

in 18 states to prepare its members to win delegate spots at the Democratic Convention, in response to a 1978 rule change requiring that half of all delegates be women. The NWPC has also held meetings with other women's groups all year in preparation for the convention, but it wasn't until June that it and NOW began, for the first time in their history, a close working relationship.

This relationship included support of the "open convention" proposal pushed by the Kennedy forces. Although the NWPC had Carter supporters among its delegates, NOW officially opposed Carter's renomination and many other members of the Coalition, in particular Bella Abzug, urged that feminists would have no bargaining room unless the rule requiring delegates to vote on the first ballot for the candidate they were committed to during the primaries were repealed.

Ironically, Coalition support of the open convention movement created the impression among the Carter operatives that the Coalition was more anti-Carter than pro-ten and 11. Thus the Carter people did not even try to meet with Coalition leaders until the day before the platform was to be discussed at the convention. Then the Carter campaign sought compromising language only on ten, which they felt was not pro-ERA, but a single-issue "loyalty test," inappropriate for a pluralistic party. A two-page typewritten sheet circulated to Carter whips who were lobbying delegates against ten made an analogy between such a demand and the tactics of the "New Right, who demand that public figures toe the line on their particular issue." It said that withholding financial support from Democrats who did not support the ERA was a form of "blackmail" that would not change their position but would "make them less able to compete effectively in the general election."

The Coalition argued that Carter opposition on ten would be perceived in the press only as a repudiation of the ERA and held firm despite their knowledge that Carter delegates dominated the convention and their fear that Carter whips would convince these delegates that ten was a test of loyalty to Carter, not the ERA. The Carter campaign then persuaded Judith Lonquist, who had drafted ten as a member of the platform committee, to withdraw it. Lonquist was a former vice-president of NOW who had been on the losing side of the power struggle in NOW that brought Elie Smeal to prominence five years ago. However, she had filed the minority report under the imprint of a platform committee "caucus," and the Coalition pointed out that any withdrawal would require the agreement of all who had originally signed.

According to Iris Mitgang, this Carter tactic unified Coalition groups against any compromise. "Carter used such a heavy hand that they became the enemy," she said. The Coalition was already displeased at administration efforts to play off one group against another, and now felt that despite the odds against them the time had come to stand pat.

ERA wins.

Nonetheless, four Carter supporters, including White House aide Sarah Weddington and former assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development Donna Shalala, met with NOW and NWPC members from 2:30 to 4:00 a.m. Tuesday to try again. They told the Coalition that the Carter campaign would "whip down" on ten, and that if the Coalition didn't compromise, they would cause the perception of an ERA defeat that they so wanted to avoid. Instead, Donna Shalala offered to write a "stronger, more positive"

statement of support.

To this, Sally Lunt, a candidate for state representative in Massachusetts, replied, "My idea of an acceptable stronger statement is that the president will withhold all federal money from all states which have not ratified until they do so." The Carter representatives neither accepted this nor offered specific alternative language, and it became increasingly clear to the Coalition that the Carter campaign had sent them negotiators who had no decision-making power.

The vote on minority report ten had been scheduled for early Tuesday afternoon, but was postponed for several hours as each side "whipped" their delegates. The issue was finally settled two hours before the vote when the National Education Association (NEA), which had the largest single bloc of pro-Carter delegates, announced it would support ten. Hamilton Jordan called off the Carter whips, and convention chair Tip O'Neill phoned Bella Abzug to suggest that both sides agree on a voice vote to save both the time and the potential embarrassment of a roll call.

Abortion rights passed.

After ten passed by acclamation, 11, on which neither side had whipped, passed by two-to-one, and feminist groups celebrated their victory. This minority report, written by platform member Gloria Steinem, had not been polarized as was ten partially because it did not commit party resources and partially because it was not perceived by the Carter campaign as primarily a Kennedy proposal. The signatories on the minority report had included a significant number of Carter supporters.

At a Sunday press conference, presidential aide Stuart Eizenstat had announced that Carter opposed 11, but it wasn't a priority concern. When some Carter whips nonetheless interpreted this as a sign that they should lobby against 11, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) appealed to the Carter campaign to clarify the president's position. The campaign obligingly told their whips that the president might be opposed, but the delegates should vote their own consciences.

NARAL executive director Karen Mulhauser described this victory as a tribute to the "political power of pro-choice organizers." Like the NWPC, NARAL had begun months earlier to poll and lobby delegates on pro-choice positions. Mulhauser said approximately 300 delegates were NARAL members and NARAL had a whip system in place separate from that of the Coalition for Women's Rights should it be necessary. Although she sympathized with the Coalition, Mulhauser said NARAL had not actively participated in it because as a single-issue organization it couldn't work on the other two issues around which the Coalition was formed. In particular, it could not support the open convention proposal, since half of NARAL's whips were Carter delegates.

Fortunately, minority report 11 was never as doubtful as ten. Not only was it not being "whipped" by the Carter campaign, but it had the smallest margin of defeat in the platform committee. Since polls showed about 75 percent of the delegates supported it, and its passage required no commitment of tangible resources, only a mistake by supporters or a strong anti-feminist reaction by delegates would have doomed it. Thus at the Democratic convention, as at the Republican convention, abortion took back seat for controversy to the ERA.

Jo Freeman has been covering women's issues at the Republican and Democratic conventions for *In These Times*.

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IN THESE TIMES

Democrats endorse recession

By John Judis

NEW YORK CITY

JIMMY CARTER'S ACCEPTANCE speech at the Democratic Convention Aug. 14 revealed his fall election strategy: He will try to portray the choice between himself and Republican Ronald Reagan as a 1964-style choice between moderation and right-wing extremism. "This election is a stark choice between two men, two parties, two sharply different pictures of America and the world," Carter told a nationwide television audience.

But a dispassionate visitor to the Republican Convention in Detroit and the Democratic Convention in New York City—one not impressed by party labels or past quotations—might have emerged with an altogether different impression. Rather than being far apart in their basic programs, Carter and Reagan are strikingly similar:

•On economic issues, Carter and his advisers are increasingly close to Reagan's conservative economic advisers. While appealing to different rhetorical

traditions, they both basically counsel recession as the cure to inflation and corporate tax credits as the cure for a sluggish economy.

•On defense and nuclear strategy, Carter and adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski are attempting to achieve the first-strike capability against the Soviet Union that the Republican platform and Reagan's top advisers advocate.

The 1980 election may be much closer to the 1976 primary election—with Carter playing Gerald Ford and Reagan himself—than it is to the 1964 Goldwater-Johnson election.



Carter: Steve Kagan



Reagan: Lorne Delvingre

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Permanent recession.

Carter's current economic views represent a sharp change in Democratic philosophy. The Democratic presidential nominees in the '60s were all adherents to the Keynesian belief in permanent prosperity through appropriate fiscal and monetary policy. But under the changed economic circumstances of the '70s, Democrats like Carter have had to abandon this belief.

While the excess industrial capacity caused by the reconstruction of Europe and Japan and the '60s boom led to chronic unemployment throughout the West, OPEC's price increases, combined with floating exchange rates and an already rigid price system, caused chronic inflation. The continuing inflation imperiled the already shaky status of the dollar and made investment planning difficult.

There were only two ways to stem inflation and protect the dollar: Create a recession, which would force down prices and discourage imports, or institute wage-price controls and whatever other investment and export controls might be necessary to keep prices down without simultaneously causing an investment slump. One path led backwards to pre-New Deal economic policy; the other path led forward to government planning.

This choice in policy also corresponds to a political choice between business and labor. While a minority of business leaders advocated forms of economic

planning, most have argued for deregulation and austerity—in effect, for a policy of prolonged recession from which business would emerge with higher rates of profit. These business leaders have also argued strenuously for business tax cuts and against traditional Democratic jobs programs in so far as they shift resources to the public sector at the expense of the private.

Labor, on the other hand, has drifted steadily toward an embrace of rudimentary social planning of investment, wage-price controls and controls over the export of capital. In the midst of recession, labor leaders have argued for public employment programs rather than "trickle down" investment tax credits.

As a Democratic candidate in 1976, Carter, through his economic adviser Lawrence Klein, flirted with the idea of planning. With his approval, the 1976 Democratic platform even endorsed standby wage-price controls. But as president, Carter abandoned any except the most piecemeal approaches to planning. He seemed to do so for three reasons: (1) He was probably inclined in this direction from his business past, (2) Business asso-

ciations were able to mount more effective pressure on the presidency, and (3) Under pollster Patrick Caddell's guidance, he adopted a long-term political strategy that saw his base primarily among what Caddell described as "middle-income white-collar voters" and less among traditional Democratic constituencies. These middle-income voters were primarily concerned about inflation rather than jobs.

The \$12 billion solution.

At this year's Democratic convention, Carter's problem was to confirm this approach, which was thought to be politically essential for the fall, without totally alienating traditional Democrats, who might be eventually brought back into the fold by the absence of anyone else to support. Carter's principal stumbling block was a series of minority proposals that the forces of his challenger, Senator Edward Kennedy, planned to introduce. These minority planks represented a blend of planning and of traditional liberalism: number one called for wage-price controls and government planning through a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC); numbers two and four called for not using recessions to fight inflation; and number three called for a \$12 billion jobs program. The proposals not only had the support of Kennedy's delegates, but also the labor and minority delegates pledged to Carter.

Carter's difficulties were partly alleviated by Kennedy himself, who seemed more intent on pressing his own candidacy for 1984 (on the model of Ronald Reagan's Republican performance in 1976) than in fighting for programmatic alternatives to the Carter economic policies. In a stirring speech defending the minority planks, Kennedy didn't even mention the structural proposals contained in the first—the proposals that Carter found most objectionable. Instead, he gave a defense of active government that could have been presented in 1936 or 1964 as well as 1980. Afterwards, Kennedy agreed to lose the first by a voice vote in exchange for victories on the other three.

In a subsequent statement on the platform, Carter earnestly affirmed that he had never and would never use recession to fight inflation, and while agreeing to accept the "intent" of the \$12 billion jobs program, he postponed any discussion of the specifics to a September policy address.

But statements by chief economic adviser Stuart Eizenstat and an interview with the head of Carter's Council of Economic Advisers indicated how little Carter was prepared to do.

The wrong mix.

In a press conference, Eizenstat tried to explain Carter's reaction to the \$12 billion program. "Without trying to make a value judgment," Eizenstat said, "we would prefer a mix of tax and spending incentives, so that we could begin to deal both with the short-term problems and with the long-term capital investment and low productivity problem." In plain English, this meant that the Carter administration would emphasize business tax incentives rather than public jobs in trying to ease the unemployment crisis. This is, of course, exactly the path rec-



Carter: Steve Kagan

tions. Every American president from Harry Truman to Richard Nixon assumed American nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. This superiority could be used, as John Kennedy used it in the Cuba missile crisis, to force the Soviet Union to abandon an area of conflict. But as a result of its humiliation in Cuba, the Soviet Union undertook a massive strategic arms buildup. By the late '60s, it had achieved essential equivalence with the American forces.

At the same time, American forces were also dealt a serious defeat in Vietnam. In the wake of Vietnam, American defense planners could never count on using American troops for massive intervention in Third World countries. Faced with these new limitations and with Soviet nuclear parity, defense planners tended in two different directions: toward the acceptance of a pluralistic world in which the U.S. would play a modest role or toward the development of new strategic arms that would restore American nuclear superiority—and with it, the power to blackmail the Soviet Union. The two paths diverged most dramatically on nuclear strategy and the need for



Reagan: Lorne Delvingre

strategic arms limitation agreements. The Carter administration began, of course, with one foot firmly planted in the camp of pluralism and arms control, but it has progressively abandoned it for the position of Paul Nitze and the Committee on the Present Danger. Again, the reasons seem to be both political and strategic. The initial Carter support for arms control and defense cuts seems to have been based on a view that the U.S. could have its cake and eat it—that in appreciation of its human rights stand and its support for arms control, Soviet-backed nationalist movements in the Third World would simply fold up shop. When the Carter administration encountered the slightest threat to its world hegemony, beginning in Ethiopia, it had second thoughts about its pluralism.

In addition, the Carter policy shift seems to have been motivated by growing public support for a stronger defense posture. This growing public support stems, in part, from the administration's inability to win the SALT II debate. As was the case with its energy policy, the Carter administration has responded to political defeat by switching to the side of the victors.

The net results of this policy shift became apparent during the convention. On its eve, the administration announced the adoption of a new strategic directive, Presidential Directive 59 (P.D. 59), that calls for developing the capacity to knock out Soviet missile installations and political command centers. During the convention, the administration leaked reports that it might abrogate the anti-ballistic missile treaty and that it was considering the construction of a new B-1-type bomber.

These leaks were not external to the convention, but were intended to bolster the Carter administration's image of being militarily strong and tough. This issue of the administration's nuclear strategy finally came up on the convention floor in the debate over whether to deploy the MX missile.

Since 1974, a fierce debate has been raging within the Pentagon and the State

Department over whether to deploy the MX missile.

Just as Carter has taken the right-wing path on economic questions, he has also done so on nuclear and defense ques-

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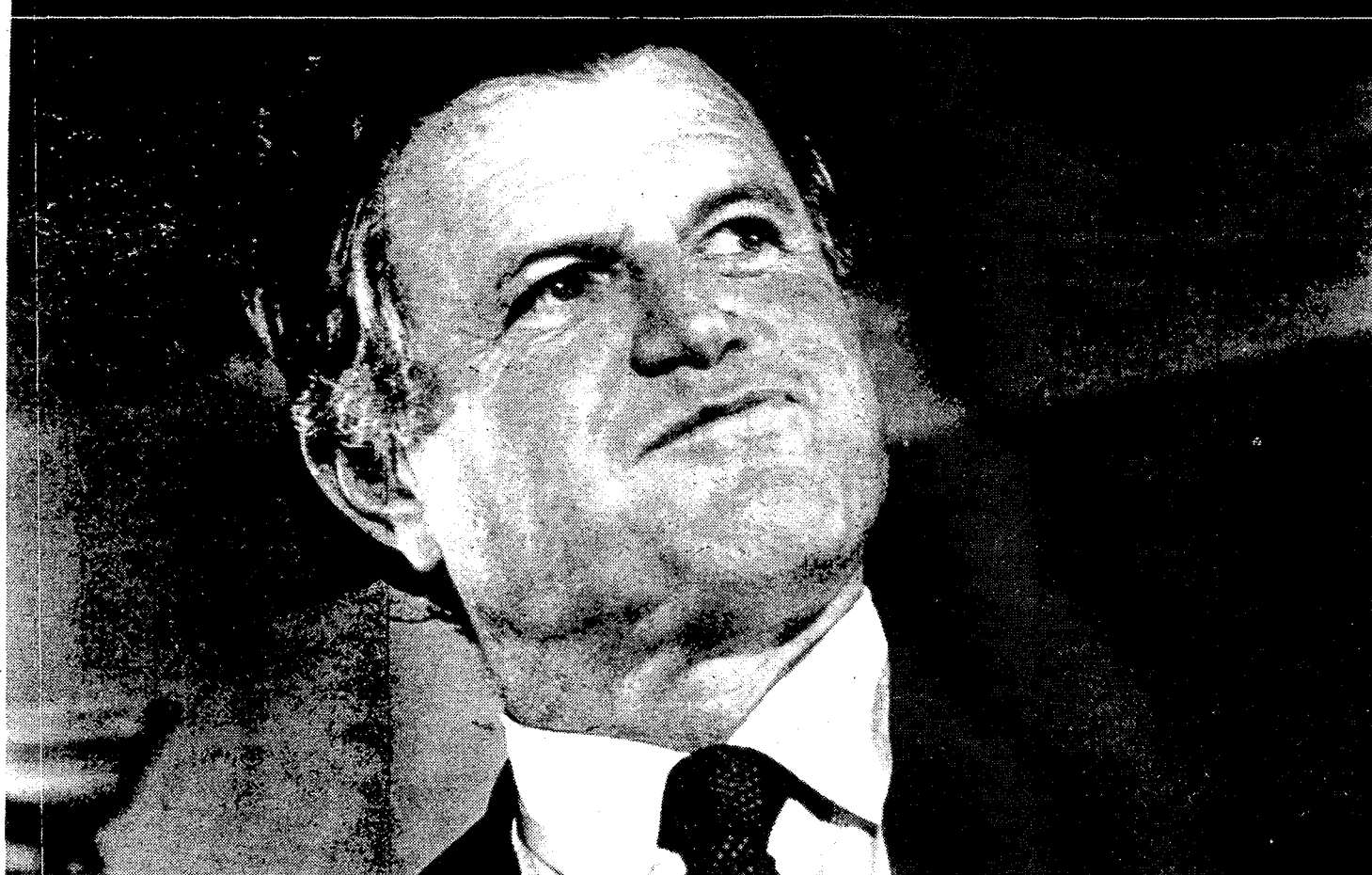
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IN THE NATION

THE CAMPAIGN



Left Democrats need strategy

By David Moberg

NEW YORK

THE LIGHTS WERE DIM IN MADISON Square Garden. On the screens high above the arena a saccharine introductory paean to Jimmy Carter's acceptance speech was playing. Down below, squirming through the throng of delegates, journalists, security guards, political operatives and assorted hangers-on, there was a slowly moving line of people heading toward Gate 11. Their path was marked by occasional placards held high above, declaring themselves "Democrats With a Conscience." Maneuvering past guards who often tried to block their way, they were following William Winpisinger, the earthy, no-nonsense president of the 900,000-member Machinists union. They were walking out of the Democratic Party convention in a protest that "Wimpy" earlier said was "to focus attention on the fact that some Democrats don't cotton to the notion that our people ought to get together in convention and nominate an out-and-out, preordained loser."

About 85 blue-capped machinists, nearly all of the 91-member Machinist delegation to the convention, formed the bulk of the group of 150 to 200 people walking out of the hall, chanting "Democrats yes, Carter no," "Jobs, jobs, jobs" and "No more broken promises."

"I want Carter to remember every time he sits down with the cabinet or a committee of the cabinet to decide the important business of the American people that some of us don't always like the misery of choosing between the lesser of two evils," Winpisinger said on the way out. "If there's a platform, you should follow it and be faithful to it and keep the promises. If we can get him to remember that, the American people will be better off as a result of this demonstration."

Wimpy's walkout, little-noticed in the hoopla of the convention's closing rituals, was one of many efforts by labor and various left groups to budge the Democratic Party toward a more left economic program directed to the needs of working people and the poor. The grip of Carter's people was sufficiently tight that none of the efforts had much immediate impact, but they left a lingering fracture line in the party that will not only hurt Carter's campaign in the fall

but also may lead to better organization by left and labor elements of the party to gain control or, failing that, move toward a more independent "third force."

"The American people have a right to have their political system yield something better than this every four years," Winpisinger said while walking out. "We're down to a one-party system in this country, and that's why I'm out here."

Although Winpisinger's walkout was aimed at influencing the Democrats, he also announced that "I very likely will sign on, if the conditions develop that make it possible, with Democrats for [Barry] Commoner-[LaDonna] Harris, the Citizens Party candidates for president and vice president."

Winpisinger broke with Carter two years ago when Carter broke a campaign pledge and a Democratic platform plank by supporting decontrol of natural gas prices. He was a founder of the draft-Kennedy drive and a Kennedy delegate from Maryland. But even before the convention opened, despite his hopes that Kennedy might stage an upset, Winpisinger told the Citizens Party that theirs was "the only organization in the field that I know about now that has any kind of program or platform that remotely resembles what I think the country needs."

It was an important boost for the fledgling Citizens Party ticket and the in-

A Carter floor manager passes the word.



Not only labor but much of the Democratic Party's left is similarly split on what to do in November—back Carter, sit at home, support Commoner or Anderson. Nearly all will put their best effort into protecting sympathetic congressional Democrats from suffering defeat in a Reagan romp. But even though they are split on the presidential strategy, they remain united on at least one broad programmatic idea: full employment must be the centerpiece of even minimally progressive politics in the years to come.

Left and labor leaders in the party see Carter as having abandoned that principle, what Kennedy called in his oratorically brilliant, if analytically thin, convention address "the heart of our tradition" and "the soul of our party." They feel that they have lost influence steadily within the Democratic Party. But they are frustrated and confused about how to gain, or regain, that influence, and some openly wonder about the need to form new institutions or even a new party.

Whatever happens in November, it is virtually certain that there will be a series of "summit" conferences of labor leaders, possibly including citizen action, civil rights and other left leaders, to plan a new political strategy.

Winpisinger, in a way, embodies the tensions within this flank of American politics. He is willing to embrace the candidates of a new left-wing party, partly because he did not want to repeat from the left what George Meany did from the right in sitting out McGovern's 1972 campaign. But he is still attached to the old liberalism of the Democratic Party, embodied in Kennedy's majestic, possibly funereal, oration, a liberalism increasingly routed from the Democratic Party and increasingly outdated because of its failure to contest corporate power over the economy. Does Wimpy think about Kennedy as a candidate in '84? "I think about him before I go to bed," he answered, "and before I get up every morning."

Although at most only a small number of other national labor leaders may follow Winpisinger into Democrats for Commoner-Harris (David Livingston, head of District 65 of the UAW, has joined up), most of the others continue to respect him despite their disagreements. (At a labor for Kennedy caucus, Wimpy's name drew by far the biggest cheer from the assemblage, although there was some sharp criticism. Sam Fishman, director of the Community Action Program for the UAW in Michigan, called Winpisinger's walk-out "unproductive and not helpful.")

But there is interest in some kind of organization on the left. Bill Holayter, political director of the Machinists, dismisses the Citizens Party as top-heavy, a "chimney on a house with no house," but he does see the possibility of splitting off the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, especially if Carter's wing of the party succeeds in holding power within the party even after a defeat. That would require two steps different from the Citizens Party formation, he said.

"If you want to develop another party, you've got to have some people with some amount of power to sit down and say, 'This is what we're going to do,'" Holayter said. Beyond that it would require building up from the precinct level, running local candidates, "and then in four, eight or ten years run for some congressional seats. I have a feeling there

William Winpisinger



are a lot of people out there in the neighborhoods, and if somebody came to their home and said, 'I'm Jim Jones; I'm a machinist and I work at the factory over here and I want to talk about a new party,' I think a lot of working men would respond."

Some labor leaders, like Doug Fraser of the UAW, emphasize instead undoing party reform, including minimizing the influence of primaries and increasing accountability to regular party members. By that route, implicitly, the left of the party would try to remake the Demo-

crats into a British-style labor party.

Even more elementary, most labor leaders appear interested primarily in saving Democratic programs to minimize unemployment. AFSCME, for example, is withholding any endorsement until it sees concrete proof of Carter's intent to carry through on the revised platform with a new job-creation program, according to Jim Savarese, president Jerry Wurf's assistant. "All options are open," Savarese said, "but the biggest, most viable option is sticking with congressional and Senate candidates

who are our friends. If Carter runs as a conservative, we don't have a choice. We can't deliver a million members for a candidate who says the wrong things. His repudiation of our platform is disastrous." But AFSCME isn't even investigating Anderson or Commoner, Savarese says: "Commoner's platform is reasonable, but he's not a serious candidate."

The basic issue is the creation of a political vehicle for democratic, pro-labor, generally progressive politics, but strategic differences still divide the already

weak forces on the left. "We are only a small part in what can be considered an historic event, which will begin here in New York and continue through the campaign and into the next decade," Commoner said, after Winpisinger announced his likely support at a Citizens Party gathering. "We, along with dissident Democrats, along with people generally, are beginning to make a new historic step toward a country that is not only a political democracy but also an economic democracy."

Continued on page 7.

More recession

Continued from page 3.

Department over whether to develop what then-Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger called a "counterforce capability"—the capability to destroy "hard" enemy missile silos. Counterforce was presented publicly as a defensive strategy, but it had no other use except as a first-strike strategy. It would hardly make sense to use missiles against enemy missile silos after the enemy had already released its missiles.

P.D. 59 represents the final acceptance of the "first strike" counterforce strategy. Besides increasing the likelihood of nuclear war, it will also escalate the arms race. Under the former strategy of mutually assured destruction (MAD), one could argue that the U.S. ability to blow up the world 24 times over made any new weaponry unnecessary. Now, when the goal is pinpoint elimination of the enemy's weaponry, there is no limit to what needs to be built.

Some of the delegates from Utah and Nevada opposed the construction of the MX because they don't want their states turned into parking lots and into "sponges that can soak up Soviet missiles." But Joe Smith, the Carter delegate from Oregon who introduced the minority proposal to block the MX, and Paul Warnke, the former SALT II negotiator who came to New York to aid Smith, were primarily concerned about the MX's role as part of the P.D. 59 counterforce strategy. Besides being mobile, the MX is also a precision weapon designed to hit "hard" targets.

"We have to recognize that the MX is a doomsday weapon," Warnke argued. "When the other side has nuclear weapons,

the most dangerous thing you can do is threaten those forces so that the opponent would feel in a moment of crisis that it had to strike first." Warnke warned that the development of the MX would prompt the Soviets to build their own mobile missile and might also cause them to adopt a "launch on warning" policy, since in contrast to the U.S., most of their missile forces are housed in fixed land silos and are therefore vulnerable to a first strike.

The convention debate on Smith's proposal took place on Wednesday afternoon with many of the delegates absent. The Carter administration had initially scheduled only House majority leader James Wright to speak against it, but sensing some support for the proposal even among Carter delegates, threw Secretary of Defense Harold Brown and former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency head General George Seignious into the fray. They also circulated copies of a handwritten note from Carter to the delegates and sent an armada of administration officials onto the floor. The officials warned the delegates that passage of the minority plank would make it difficult for Carter to counter Reagan's charges that the administration had let the nation's defenses deteriorate. Meanwhile, from the podium, Wright warned that without the MX, the U.S. would be open to a "nuclear Pearl Harbor," while Brown insisted that the MX was necessary to "preserving our security in a nuclear age."

Carter officials failed to win over the dissenters from the West, but they did hold on to most of their other delegates and won some Kennedy support as well.

"The Democratic Party has to be on record as favoring strengthening our military posture," Sam Fishman, a Kennedy delegate and United Auto Workers official from Michigan, said.

In his acceptance speech, Carter charged Reagan with advocating a "radical and irresponsible" arms policy that "would put the whole world in peril." Exactly the same could be said of the Carter policies.

Carter's candidacy in 1980 illustrates the dilemma the Democratic Party faces. As a party that has traditionally housed labor, minorities and working-class ethnics, it is presently poised between an old-style liberalism and a business conservatism.

Among party activists and delegates, Carter's economic philosophy had a minority of adherents. Along with the fervent reception to Kennedy's convention speech, this encouraged the Democratic labor-liberal-left to imagine that even though Carter won the nomination, they would soon win the party. Michael Harrington, the chairman of Democratic Agenda, the umbrella organization for the party's left, voiced this sentiment when he compared the 1980 Democratic left to the Republican right wing in 1960.

But there remain tremendous obstacles before such a takeover could occur:

- The most important may be Kennedy himself. During his campaign, Kennedy showed only a fleeting willingness to break with old-style liberalism and to fashion a politics that could both solve the problems of stagflation and unite inflation-harried middle-class voters with the jobless poor. He was also reluctant to challenge Carter's military policies. Kennedy's followers rely on Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s dictum that American political history consists of a cycle of "apathetic" and "activist" presidents, and they are simply waiting for Carter's apathy to run its course. But when it does, the kind of

The Kennedy speech led some left Democrats to imagine that, if they had lost the nomination, they might yet win the party.

activism required may be beyond what Kennedy is willing to do.

- The Democratic left itself, represented by the Democratic Agenda and its labor and liberal member organizations, does not have a program that is an alternative to Keynesian liberalism or Carter-style conservatism. At the Democratic convention, it fell dutifully behind Kennedy's call for a \$12 billion jobs bill without presenting any programs that might suggest new directions. The left is also deeply divided on questions of defense. Many Kennedy labor delegates would have been willing to back Senator Henry Jackson if Kennedy had withdrawn, while others would have found his candidacy as antithetical as Carter's.

- Most important of all, the Democratic left, unlike the New Right, does not yet have an independent political presence within the party. It tends to identify itself with particular presidential contenders and with the presidential race. It is reluctant to build any grass roots base for itself, which could be the vehicle for political power. At the convention, it simply operated in Kennedy's shadow.

IN SHORT

Big birds

Q. Why didn't the chicken cross the road?

A. It was way too fat to move. Over the last two decades, according to a recent article in *Nutrition Action*, the amount of fat in 100 grams of a raw chicken's edible portions has tripled from 5.1 to 15.6 grams. This still beats out the more expensive beef and pork for leanness, but chicken, which is high in protein and low in calories, has become less of a fat-watcher's bargain.

Behind the extra weight is the poultry industry's appetite for quicker bucks. Witness the genetic manipulation of chickens in recent years, designed to unnaturally select a breed that matures quickly. "We used to slaughter four-pound chickens at 12 weeks," said Walter Becker, an animal science professor at Washington University. "Now we slaughter them at seven weeks." The faster a chicken reaches maturity, he explained, the sooner it starts building up fatty deposits and the bigger it eventually gets.

These chubby chickens are cheap because rapid-breeding techniques keep feed expenses low. Beef and pork tripled in cost between 1950 and 1979; the price of chicken rose by only 20 percent. But if the industry were to revert to the leaner—"natural"—breed of chicken, it could cost the purchaser of an average four-pound bird an extra 40 cents, according to one estimate.

Unperturbed by the changing shape of things, the public has been gobbling up chickens in ever-increasing numbers. Producers now rear more than three billion birds a year, one-third more than in 1963. And as *Nutrition Action* points out, the concerned consumer can easily remove 85 percent of the excess fatty tissue by stripping the bird of its skin and "separable fat" before cooking it.

It's clear that until Frank Perdue and his colleagues get some feedback to the contrary, they will operate on the principle that it takes a tough customer to resist a tender chicken.

Poison pens

Of course, technology's progressive plumping of poultry has been due to more than genetics. Chemicals—without them, as the ad says, "life itself would be impossible"—are an indispensable ingredient of the penned-up animals' high-calorie diet. Today's bird feed is loaded with additives such as antibiotics, which have been found to aid in weight gain.

The same goes for beef, only worse. According to the Food and Drug Administration, up to 344,000 cattle in 16 states have been illegally fed the cancer-causing substance DES (diethylstilbestrol) since the Nov. 1, 1979, cut-off date for legal use of the chemical, which works as a growth stimulant in livestock.

Nuke halt

The Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO) is having trouble with its proposed Baily nuclear plant in the Indiana Dunes, just five miles from Gary and 20 miles from Chicago.

Though NIPSCO first got a permit to build the plant in 1974, construction has barely begun. The permit called for completion of the plant by Sept. 1, 1979, but a combination of court orders, technical deficiencies in the plans and other obstacles held everything up after only 1 percent of the job was done.

Now the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has ruled, despite NIPSCO's vigorous protests, that new hearings must be held to determine whether the utility deserves an extension of the old deadline. These hearings—no date has yet been set—will be the first ever granted by the NRC to reevaluate the permit of a nuke at its earliest stages of construction.

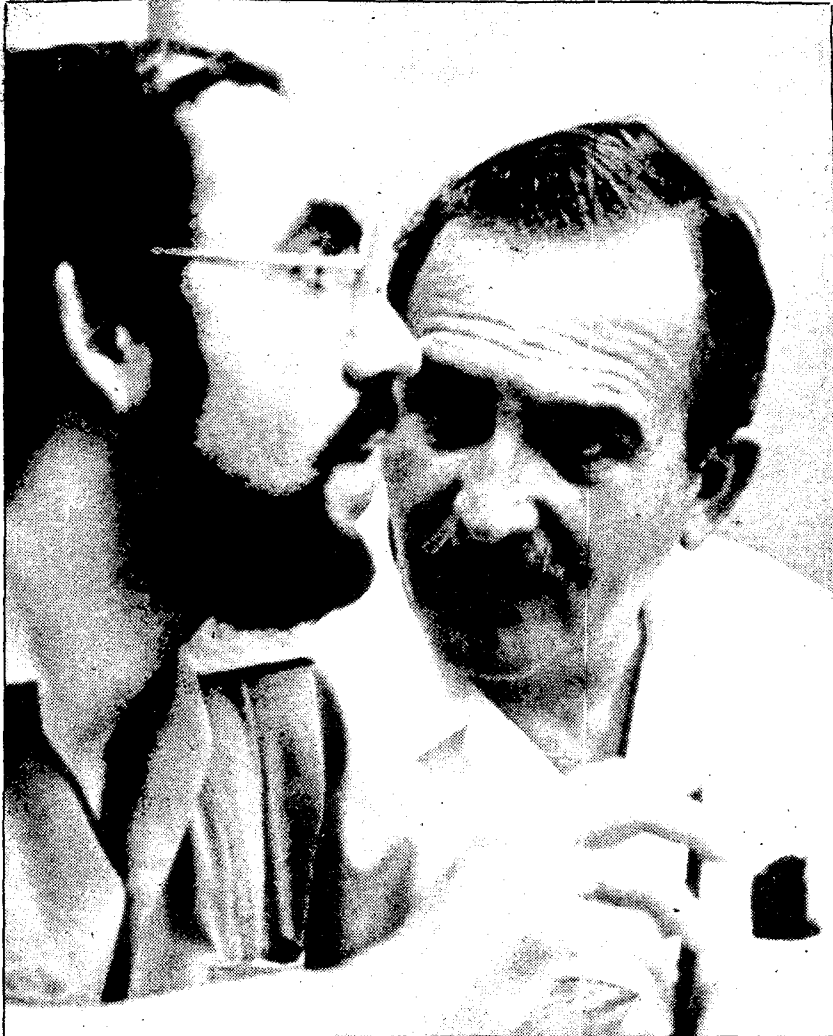
Opponents of the Baily plant to be represented at the hearings include Business and Professional People for the Public Interest, the Porter County Chapter of the Izaak Walton League (a conservationist group), the State of Illinois, Local 1010 of the United Steelworkers of America and neighbors of the site.

Hotly contested will be the questions of NIPSCO's competence to build a safe nuclear facility and the possible adverse environmental effects of continuing construction until 1987.

Thanks, Mom

A new group called Parents Against the Draft is trying to expand from its Massachusetts base to start up a nationwide grass-roots movement. Available from them for \$1.00 are bumper stickers reading "Another Parent Against the Draft" (P.O. Box 833, Brookline Village, MA 02147).

—Josh Kornbluth



Ruben Ignacio Zamora (left) and Enrique Alvarez Cordova, as they spoke before about 100 on Aug. 2 in Chicago.

'Get out of El Salvador,' ex-junta members tell U.S.

Representatives of the El Salvadorean Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) appealed for an end to U.S. economic, military and political support of the military-civilian junta in El Salvador during a U.S. tour, sponsored by the National Council of Churches in late July and early August. The five-member delegation visited major U.S. cities (including Washington, D.C., New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit and Boston) speaking on the deteriorating human rights situation in their country, the formation and program of the FDR, and the role of U.S. aid to the junta in prolonging bloodshed and conflict.

Salvadorean troops or right-wing paramilitary forces have killed over 4,300 civilians since January 1980, FDR leaders charged. "Everyone agrees that if the U.S. pulls out, the junta cannot survive," said Ruben Ignacio Zamora, an FDR member, addressing about 100 people Aug. 2 at a Lutheran church in Chicago.

Zamora and Enrique Alvarez Cordova, who is the president of the FDR and a former agricultural minister in the junta, said they found widespread official and unofficial support for the FDR during earlier visits to several Latin American and Western European countries.

Both Zamora and Alvarez strongly condemned the proposed \$5.5 million in "non-lethal" security assistance proposed by the Carter administration to Congress in June. According to information they got in Washington, D.C., there are three special State Department task forces: on Iran, Afghanistan and El Salvador. This gives some idea of the importance the U.S. government puts on the situation there.

Zamora warned that U.S. actions are stirring up anti-American feeling. "There is no United Fruit Company in El Salvador, no bananas, no record of U.S. military intervention. Therefore people have

not developed the anti-American feelings you find in Nicaragua and Guatemala. But when U.S. ambassador White makes statements supporting the junta every week, when people learn the U.S. is arming the government that kills them, anti-American feeling grows."

Formed in April when two older opposition coalitions merged, the FDR is a broad coalition. "Our Front is a pluralistic organization. There are Marxists and non-Marxists," Zamora noted. He, like Alvarez, was a member of the junta's cabinet from October 1979 to January 1980 before resigning in protest at the government's escalating suppression. When he left El Salvador, he was on three death lists.

Both men found U.S. senators and representatives generally uninformed about El Salvador. "All they have heard is the State Department lie that the junta is in the middle between extreme left and extreme right," noted Zamora. "In fact, it should be obvious that the government and the extreme right are one and the same. How else could it be that the right kills people every day with complete impunity—that the government never takes any action against them?"

Zamora said the FDR has received a consistently warm reception in the U.S. only from church people. He also emphasized the importance of the protestant and Catholic churches in developing the popular struggle in El Salvador. "Through the base communities, the church has helped develop the consciousness of the people, especially the peasants. Sometimes we learn about new acts of suppression because the priests and nuns denounce them. The importance of the role [assassinated Archbishop] Romero played cannot be underestimated. He knew that behind him were thousands of Christian people."

The FDR is establishing a headquarters-in-exile in Mexico, but its leaders expect that the junta will

fall soon as a result of the growing upsurge of popular resistance. "We are thinking in terms of months, not years," Alvarez said. Zamora stressed the high level of organization of the people. "We have behind us 20 years of mass organizing. Now even the white-collar workers are organizing to fight the government. Banking, judiciary and health workers are now on strike." —Carole Collins

Citizens Party gets on ballots

That gentle rustling is the sound of Citizens Party ballot-access petitions as they are collected, counted and contested across the country.

At the time of this writing, the Barry Commoner/LaDonna Harris ticket already has made it onto the November ballot in 16 states: Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, California, Illinois, Alabama, Louisiana, New Mexico and Pennsylvania.

Eleven other petition drives are considered a sure thing: Arkansas, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, New Hampshire, North Dakota, New York, Rhode Island and Vermont.

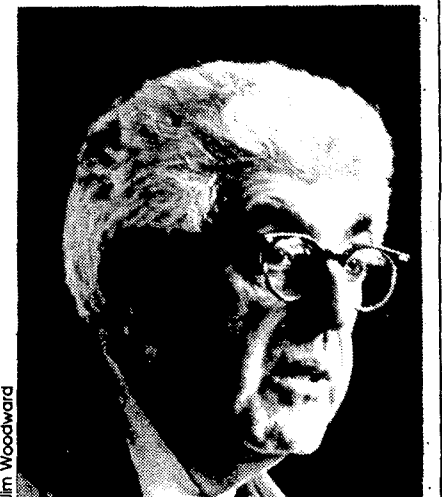
Come November, the campaign organizers expect to have reached the ballot in 35 states, if all goes well in Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Hawaii, Mississippi, Nebraska, Tennessee and Virginia. Those 35 states embrace 76.2 percent of the electorate.

An unexpected ballot-access victory came in Michigan's Aug. 5 primary, when the party overcame the double-whammy restrictions of the state's McCollough Act. The four-year-old act requires each minor party to both collect signatures and receive 3 percent of the votes cast in the primary. The Commoner/Harris ticket gleaned 5,053 votes (3,200 were needed) after qualifying for the primary with almost twice the required 18,339 petition signatures.

Party organizers are now hard at work in New York to collect the necessary 20,000 signatures—actually 40-50,000, taking into account the inevitable invalidations—by the Sept. 16 deadline. There, the special obstacle to a ballot berth is the requirement that a party get at least 500 registered voters to sign the petition in half of the state's 40 congressional districts.

"New York is notorious for challenging ballot-access petitions," said Citizens Party national director Bert DeLeeuw, noting that Eugene McCarthy was kept off the state's presidential ballot in 1976. "But we have a broad-based operation, with about 500 volunteers. We don't anticipate any problems."

—Josh Kornbluth



Barry Commoner

The left

Continued from page 5.

Only a few days later Michael Harrington, national chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), was announcing another historic step, the convening of the first socialist caucus within the Democratic Party (an event that drew 49 delegates and alternates from 19 states). Harrington described the Democratic Party as "at its best a liberal party." He agreed that "America needs a new party," but differed from Commoner. "Our strategy is that the road to the new party lies through an old party," he said. "If that seems strange, then American politics is strange." Liberalism never was consummated in the U.S., and yet old-style liberalism is *passee*, Harrington continued. "Radical liberalism" is the next stage.

The DSOC group, the socialist caucus and the non-socialist Democratic Agenda (which drew a modest crowd of about 350, including many non-delegates, to its meeting) all focus on issues more than candidates. However, even though their program and the Citizens Party platform are similar, Commoner was not invited to address either the Democratic Agenda or the socialist caucus meeting.

Commoner was shut out of other left political affairs as well for his effrontery to be a candidate. In the South Bronx, the Coalition for a Peoples Alternative, a small conglomeration of varied groups



ACORN members march through Herald Square.

devoted to 1960s-style "struggle," but lacking the mass movement of that decade, refused to let Commoner speak—despite an earlier invitation—as they gathered to draft demands to be presented to the Democrats in a pre-convention march of a few thousand people. Most of the participants seemed to shun electoral politics in any form in favor of protest by an amalgam of "oppressed" constituencies.

The simultaneous convention of AC-

ORN (Association of Communities Organized for Reform Now) similarly eschewed any candidates or electoral politics, but it was active within the Democratic Party. ACORN pushed its own delegates and a special commission to investigate ways to guarantee more low-income representation in future conventions.

Throughout the week protests and pressure groups from various causes took aim at the usually solid Carter majority. The solar energy caucus won administration concession to its plank after demonstrating broad support among delegates. A few blacks, after frustrating meetings with Carter administration officials, refused to show up for the acceptance speech. An anti-draft group and a gay group managed symbolic vice-presidential nominations. Women's groups won platform statements favoring federal funding for abortions and withholding of support for Democrats who don't support the Equal Rights Amendment, although Carter hedged his acceptance of those even as Bella Abzug declared her determination to make them binding.

Inside the convention hall, many of the Kennedy delegates were rehearsing the sort of arguments that will be repeated continually this fall as voters contemplate "the evil of two lessers," as delegate John Wolf described it. Joe Walsh, from New Jersey, had leaned to Commoner but was swayed back to Carter by fear of Reagan appointing four Supreme Court justices. Oregon delegate Wolf, a caucus administrator in the Oregon House of Representatives majority office, said he would "vote my conscience—and not vote for Carter." He would consider Anderson, but more likely Commoner.

California Kennedy delegate Steve Smith thought he would reluctantly vote for Carter because he believes the two-party system is needed for "long-term political stability of the country." Ralph Fertig, an American Federation of Teachers official and president of the Southern California Americans for Democratic Action, joined the walkout and said he wouldn't vote for Carter. He leaned toward Anderson despite reservations about his labor and economic policies because Commoner was "not thought of as a serious candidate."

Ed and Mindy Leek were an apt symbol of the divisions on the left of the party. Both came as Kennedy delegates and showed up at the socialist caucus, but Mindy was heading home as a Commoner supporter after agonized reflection ("There's no place else to go"), buoyed in her decision by having Winpisinger's company. But Ed, a member of the Oregon state committee, said that his "responsibility as a regular Democrat is to vote for Carter."

These early stirrings of a process of political realignment give few solid indications about how a new political force representing labor, women, blacks and Latinos, and the left generally will emerge. But the strategic or even shorter-term differences among the different groups and people involved can cloud the perception of the shifts that are underway and the common aims of the many, often squabbling camps. Whatever their manner of speaking, the labor-left wing of the party shared Walking Wimp's sentiments: "I'm tired of the lesser of two evils. I want something good."

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Greensboro Klan members plan to plead entrapment

By Patricia MacKay

GREENSBORO, N.C.

OPENING ARGUMENTS AND testimony began in the murder trial of six Klan-Nazi defendants on Aug. 4 in Greensboro, N.C. It is expected to be four to six months before the all-white jury of six women and six men returns a verdict. Defendants are charged with killing five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) at an anti-Klan demonstration at a predominantly black housing project here last Nov. 3.

At the opening session, Dr. Martha Nathan and Florence Cauce, widows of Dr. Michael Nathan and Caesar Cauce, two of the slain CWP members, condemned the trial as a "sham and a farce." They charged that police and the FBI had conspired with the Klan and the Nazis to murder their husbands and are now conspiring with the court to cover up the murders. Presiding Judge James Long ordered Nathan gagged, found both women in contempt of court, barred them from the courtroom and sentenced them to 30 days in jail.

Assistant District Attorney Jim Coman then began his opening statement. "The eyes of Greensboro, the state of North Carolina and the USA are on this trial. Nov. 3 was the parade that turned into Greensboro's darkest day," he said. Anticipating claims of self-defense, Coman charged that the cars carrying the defendants had not been touched by demonstrators. If the defendants had been attacked, he added, they could

have run or sought shelter, but instead they charged their "attackers" with weapons. The defendants, "armed to the teeth," had no intent to hold a peaceful counter-rally, he charged, adding that video-tapes would show Mark Shirer, a defendant to be tried later, loading a pistol as his car in the Klan-Nazi caravan is driven by the demonstrators. Defendant Jerry Smith can be seen in the video-tapes firing pistols at a person lying on the ground. "This is not self-defense."

Four of the six defendants gave opening statements. Bob Cahoon, attorney for defendant Roland Wood, leader of the Nazi party in Forsyth County, asserted that, because his client was born after the Nazis were in power in Germany, he never knew about Hitler or Nazi religious or racial hatred, and that Wood intended to go to the communist rally only so that he could sing "America the Beautiful" while his companions heckled the demonstrators. Cahoon also claimed that federal agent Bernard Butkovich convinced (entrapped) Wood to bring a gun to the rally, where he only shot into the air to keep the communists away.

Defense attorney Neil Jennings claimed that his client, Jerry Smith, "did not kill anyone; but if he did, he does not remember anything" because he was struck on the head before the shooting started and was only semi-conscious thereafter. Court observers said that on the video-tapes Smith can be seen dancing down the sidewalk shooting a pistol from each hand.

Defense attorney Hal Greeson, representing Coleman Pridmore, stated that his client never shot anyone either, and that video-tapes of Pridmore pumping his 12-gauge shotgun show only his at-

tempt to empty it of bullets. Greeson also claimed that his client was convinced (entrapped) to participate in the rally by an FBI and police informant who had infiltrated the KKK.

Ed Dawson, an FBI and police informant, is alleged to have helped plan the Nov. 3 confrontation, to have warned the police that armed Klansmen and Nazis were coming to the rally, and actually to have led the caravan. Dawson is also the "known Klansman" who picked up a copy of the CWP parade permit from police headquarters where he learned the parade route and that the CWP would be unarmed by agreement with the police department.

Testimony began with police detective J.H. Cooper, who followed the Klan-Nazi car caravan from the outskirts of Greensboro to the CWP rally in an unmarked car on a tip from informant Dawson. Cooper identified Nazi defendant Jack Fowler, whom he saw aim and fire a semi-automatic weapon, and defendant Lawrence Morgan, whom he saw get into the driver's side of the yellow van later stopped by police.

The second witness, J.T. Matthews, Greensboro police identification specialist, had ridden with Cooper and had taken photographs, including one of defendant David Matthews firing a long-barreled gun. When Assistant District Attorney Greeson moved that these photos be admitted as substantive, or direct, evidence, all six court-appointed defense attorneys objected. Substantive evidence stands by itself as factual information, like eyewitness testimony or a fingerprint. Defense attorneys argued that the photos should be entered as corroborative evidence, because they merely illustrate the eyewitness testimony. Judge Long denied the motion to admit the photo as substantive evidence because he was afraid of being overturned by a higher North Carolina Court, which would give defendants grounds for a new trial.

Defense attorneys next made a motion to compel the prosecution to give them a copy of a Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms report on agent Butkovich, who had infiltrated the Nazis. Defense attorneys allege that Butkovich attempted to entrap their clients into assassination, arson, use of illegal bombs and weapons and harboring. Judge Long ordered the prosecutors to turn over any "exculpatory" evidence they have.

Defense attorneys argue that Butkovich's information to police about the planning of the Klan-Nazi confrontation constitutes exculpatory evidence because police inaction indicates no violence or illegal activity had been planned. The CWP says this only shows police complicity in the murders. Defense attorneys are planning to subpoena agent Butkovich. Court observers speculate that both Butkovich and police informant Dawson may refuse to testify because their testimony may tend to incriminate them.

The first civilian eyewitness was George Vaughn, the local TV news photographer who made one of the famous video-tapes recording the murders. Vaughn saw the first three shots fired, all from the Klan-Nazi car caravan. He filmed the third shot.

Vaughn went into semi-shock after the incident and forgot the details of what happened until he viewed his own video-tape. He cannot now distinguish between personal recollection and the facts he learned from viewing the tape. Because of this, Assistant District Attorney Greeson asked that the video-tape be admitted as substantive evidence. After the defense attorneys objected, Judge Long ruled that the films will be shown to the jury as corroborative evidence only. The jury now has the impossible task of ignoring all parts of the film to which the witness Vaughn did not testify. As a result, the state will be unable to bring in a sound expert to give an opinion about where the gunshots came from based on analysis of the tapes.

Winston Cavin, a reporter for the Greensboro Daily News, was the next witness.

Cavin saw no demonstrators fire at the Ford or the van. After the shooting, when he ran toward the bleeding victims, he saw no weapons near any of them.

Don Davis, photographer from the

Greensboro Daily News, testified next. Davis, who suffered mental anguish from witnessing the murders and almost getting killed, was unable to speak above a murmur and his movements were robotic and exaggerated.

The state introduced three of Davis' photos and moved that they be introduced as substantive evidence. They show defendants Fowler, Pridmore, Wood and Morgan getting weapons from the Ford trunk and defendant Pridmore aiming his shotgun. Judge Long admitted all of Davis' photos as corroborative evidence and will rule on the three as substantive at a later time.

The video-tapes.

The jury next viewed the first of four TV color and sound video-tapes that record the shootings. The film shows defendant Jerry Smith firing a pistol at demonstrator Caesar Cauce, who starts to fall to his knees as someone clubs him from behind. It also shows demonstrator Michael Nathan dying in a pool of blood. Near the body of Mike Nathan, a man is trying in vain to revive demonstrator Bill Sampson, who has gunshot wounds in his chest. And a pregnant woman covered with blood crawls out from under a car. The still photos made from the video-tape were passed to the jury, who looked pale and shocked and glanced over at defendants in disbelief. This was a 90-second Channel 8, WGHP-TV film made by George Vaughn.

A surprise witness for the prosecution was Beulah Taylor, a participant in the Klan-Nazi car caravan. She testified that she was recruited to attend the Nov. 3 rally by Ed Dawson and understood that the car caravan was only going to park at a shopping center to watch the communists march and listen to their speeches. She was shocked and frightened when she realized that Dawson had led the car caravan into a group of angry, chanting anti-Klan demonstrators, and fled when a shot rang out.

Laura Blumenthal, Channel 12, WFMY-TV news reporter, testified that she and her photographer David Dalton arrived at the rally when it was quiet and friendly. Suddenly she heard a shot from the front of the car caravan of Klan and Nazis that had just driven up and found herself in the middle of a "hideous fight in which people were hitting each other with wooden clubs." Blumenthal opened the door of the Channel 12 car just as a shotgun blast blew out the window. The car was subsequently riddled with gunfire as Blumenthal hid under it.

After the gunfire stopped, Blumenthal crawled out from under the car and discovered that she was the only person in that area not dead or wounded.

A resident of the neighborhood where the shootings took place, Nelson Napoleon Williamson, testified that after hearing a shot, he saw defendant Jerry Smith open the trunk of a car while four others stood by. A few seconds later, he saw defendant Smith stand in the street and fire a long gun five or six times toward the crowd of demonstrators. Court observers claim that photos and video-tapes show that this man was actually defendant Jack Fowler, but it is difficult to distinguish between these two defendants now because they have cut their hair and shaved their faces.

On cross-examination, it came out that Williamson and a woman witness who fits the description of Laura Blumenthal were hypnotized in the presence of Assistant District Attorneys Rick Greeson and Jim Coman and detective A.G. Travis from the Greensboro Police Department. Newspaper sources reveal that ex-state senator Joe Raynor of Fayetteville hypnotized them and recorded their statements on video-tape. Defense attorneys asked that all recordings of any statements made by Nelson Williamson, before, during and after the hypnosis, be turned over to them. They are expected to ask for the same information regarding Laura Blumenthal and any other witness who was hypnotized. According to court observers the use of hypnosis to help a witness remember details of especially shocking and gruesome events is becoming more common in trials. ■ Patricia MacKay is a California private investigator now working as a journalist in North Carolina.

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IN THE WORLD

ASIA

By David Fleishman

TOKYO

AS KIM DAE JUNG WENT ON trial for his life this month in Seoul, the enforced isolation of the martial law courtroom reflected Korean strongman General Chun Du Hwan's determination to be rid of him. "President Park tried for years to eliminate Kim as a rival, and he only succeeded in making him a folk hero," a Western diplomat commented, referring to the late Park Chung Hee. "But Chun is set to wipe him out at one blow, and at a first try it looks like a knockout."

Since the brief opening up of Korean society after the overthrow of Syngman Rhee 20 years ago, Kim has been deeply involved in the struggle for democracy in South Korea. It's no wonder that the martial law regime of General (soon to be President) Chun Du Hwan wants Kim out of the way. He's been in the leadership of the democratic opposition both inside and outside the established political channels since before the current power structure was set in place.

For years, Kim Dae Jung was an outspoken and effective opposition member of the National Assembly. In 1971, he was President Park Chung Hee's opponent in South Korea's last pretense at free elections. Park had at his command millions of dollars in corporate-contributed

Even though Park was backed by corporate millions and a police state, Kim almost beat him in 1971. That near-victory sustained the opposition for years.

campaign funds, \$4 million from Gulf Oil alone, and the power of a police state behind him. Yet Kim nearly won, polling 46 percent of the vote officially. The near-victory inspired and sustained the democratic opposition for years.

Earlier this year, before Chun's crack-down in May, Kim was considered one of three main contenders for the presidency in elections promised for next spring. He was expected to confront opposition New Democratic Party chair Kim Young Sam, seen by many as an opportunist too open to compromise, for the chance to run against the government's candidate.

Instead, Kim Dae Jung split from the NDP altogether. "Now we have to fight to ensure that the elections are in fact held," he told his supporters. "Not for the chance to run in elections that are cancelled in the end." Kim Young Sam is now under house arrest.

In a 47-page indictment, the martial law command has charged Kim Dae Jung with subversion, insurrection and violation of the Anti-Communist Laws. Conviction carries the death penalty. For a time, Kim had no contact with his family or defense attorneys, and no one outside the regime could see him. The trial will most likely all take place behind closed doors—and will be over abruptly.

Kim was arrested the day the regime

Leader of Korean opposition goes on trial for his life

slammed the lid down on surging popular demands for democracy. Peaceful demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands, remarkable for their self-restraint, had been staged throughout the country. Suddenly, on May 17, General Chun's forces extended martial law to the entire country, closed all universities, locked out the National Assembly, blanketed the media under heavy censorship and arrested hundreds of popular leaders.

In Kwangju, Kim's hometown, carefully staged peaceful demonstrations of tens of thousands had been in the streets for days. The numbers swelled with Kim's arrest. The next day army troops opened fire on the crowds, sparking a full-fledged rebellion that spread to nearby towns in Cholla Namdo province.

Nine days later, special troops retook the city, using brutal violence against hundreds of innocent citizens. Official sources attribute 189 deaths to the insurrection. But two U.S. Peace Corps workers stationed in Kwangju, Carolyn Perry and Steven Clark, have testified that more than 10 times that number, about 2,000 people, were killed—many infants and elderly, and many from unusually wanton violence.

In early July, the military prosecutors finally brought charges against Kim and 36 others arrested with him in May. They were accused, among other crimes, of instigating the rebellion in Kwangju. Kim is being tried for sending 40 hooligans under his control to Kwangju and paying them \$8,300 to destroy a radio station, police stations and the city hall. Supposedly, they touched off the rebellion that later swept up well over 100,000 people of all walks of life.

Even the U.S. State Department, usually extremely sensitive to avoiding interference in the internal affairs of friendly dictatorships, labeled the charges against Kim "pretty far-fetched."

But, while the charges are far-fetched, the threat of execution is frighteningly real—as the fate of Kim Jae Kyu demonstrated.

The state pursues.

Kim Jae Kyu, the KCIA boss who killed Park Chung Hee in October last year,



Kim Dae Jung in court.

was sentenced to die in February. A vigorous campaign was mounted to save him. It was thought that the authorities wouldn't dare kill him, because of the outbreak of popular hostility it would touch off. But, at dawn on May 25, while the nation's attention was riveted on the tanks closing in on Kwangju, Kim Jae Kyu was marched to the gallows in his Seoul prison and hanged.

The regime has almost killed Kim Dae Jung twice so far. Once was 10 years ago, during his election bid against Park Chung Hee. The car he and his staff were riding in was rammed by a truck and forced off the road. Three of Kim's aides were killed. Kim survived with a smashed hip and broken bones. The truck disappeared. To this day, it's hard to find anyone in South Korea who believes it was an accident.

Then in 1973, while speaking to pro-South, anti-Park Korean exiles living in Japan, Kim was kidnapped from his Tokyo hotel room. Five Korean-speaking toughs did the job. One of them left behind fingerprints belonging to the

First Secretary of the Korean embassy in Tokyo.

Kim disappeared and was feared dead. Five days later, he turned up, weak and battered, his hip reinjured, in Korea and was "apprehended" by police. Kidnapped out of Japan, apparently by the KCIA and with the knowledge of the Japanese government, drugged, beaten and smuggled in a fishing trawler back into Korea to stand trial on charges of election law violations, he's never been able to travel outside Korea since.

Since then, Kim has spent three years in jail for criticizing Park Chung Hee, his opponent, in the 1971 election campaign. He'd been under continuous house arrest and police surveillance when out of jail, with his home surrounded at times by as many as a hundred plainclothesmen.

Popular sentiments may not be enough to save Kim. With the democratic opposition in South Korea decapitated and dismembered, observers fear that the authorities in Seoul no longer feel constrained against killing him. In fact, the regime may see it in its own interest to get it done as quickly as possible, while the opposition is still unable to react.

One hope is for outside pressure, from Japan and the U.S., to force the regime into reconsidering. The U.S. has warned the South Korean government that if Kim receives the death penalty, it would be impossible for the two countries to have normal relations. But while the U.S. has taken such minor diplomatic steps as postponing regularly scheduled bilateral meetings, there is no indication that it will back up its warning.

The U.S. could make or break Chun's rule. Billions of dollars in military aid, commercial grants and loans prop up the martial law regime. Nearly 40,000 American soldiers patrol the border with the North, freeing up Chun's troops for dirtier work at home.

Who questioned if the U.S. would use its leverage with South Korea, State Department spokesperson David Passage told news media simply, "South Korea is important to us." He went on to affirm that the U.S. intends to maintain its trade and security relationships with South Korea.

Those relationships will be easier to maintain with the present regime firmly in place.

For 20 years, Kim Dae Jung has been the one personality most able to unite the democratic forces in South Korea to challenge that regime. His loss, particularly at this time, when those forces are so shattered, would leave a gap hard to fill.

David Fleishman is In These Times' Far East correspondent, who has written regularly on Korea.

'Modified capitalism'

While Kim Dae Jung is recognized outside Korea as a leader in the struggle for democracy, his views on other issues are not widely known.

In a speech in Seoul three weeks before his arrest in May, Kim laid out his current thinking on Korea's future.

Kim calls for an ethical government. Human rights, meaning process rights, must be supreme. Principles of democracy must finally be put into practice. Specifically that means direct presidential elections, small electoral districts and strengthened decentralized local governments making officials more responsible to the people; unqualified freedom of expression; independent and neutral police and judiciary, and protection of the organizing rights of workers, farmers and students.

Kim's vision of a "people's econom-

ics" projects a modified capitalism that would move increasingly toward separating capital and management. Decisions on production and distribution would be shared by capital, management, labor and consumers together. Ownership of large enterprises, along with their profits, would be distributed to all the Korean people through ownership of stock. Finally, government contracts and benefits would be granted fairly, with small firms on an equal footing with the huge conglomerates that now have such close ties to the government.

Speaking on national security, Kim Dae Jung makes it clear that he means security against the threat of communism. He accuses Park Chung Hee and Chun Du Hwan of merely using anti-communist slogans to tighten their

grip on the people. Kim would create anti-communist consciousness based on economic and social freedom, rather than terror.

Close Korean ties with the U.S. and with Japan are necessary, according to Kim. American military presence on the peninsula has to be maintained. The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, committing the U.S. to Japan's defense, is also vital to South Korea. In addition, friendly ties must be cultivated with China. Kim doesn't mention the Soviet Union, but refers only to a future of amiable relations with all countries, particularly those of the third world.

Regarding relations with the North, Kim Dae Jung proposes a three-step process, beginning with mutual recognition of the governments in Seoul and Pyongyang, followed by cultural, social and economic exchanges and culminating in reunification, a dream shared by virtually all Koreans, North and South.

—David Fleishman

LABOR HISTORY

Ante-bellum labor and the slave system

THIS ARTICLE IS THE SECOND IN A SERIES on the history of labor in American politics intended to shed light on current strategies for labor in the face of disarray on the left.

To assess the present options confronting the labor movement, it is essential to know the realities of its past politics. Given the power of private property and the cultural diversity of America's working people, it was inevitable that movements resisting the evils of capitalism would differ on how—or whether—private property could be made to serve the public good.

The series examines these differences. It explores tensions and alliances between various social movements. And it assesses the impact of liberal and radical organizations on working-class political actions, showing what conditions led to the rise and fall of anarchist, socialist and communist parties, where participating in the mainstream brought gains and where losses, and why independent labor and farm-labor parties arose.

By Eric Foner

AMERICA'S FIRST LABOR movement emerged in the same decade—the 1830s—in which slavery became a central focus of the nation's political life. Like other Americans, working men and women were forced to confront the contradiction between the professed ideals of the American nation

between the fledgling labor movement and abolitionists were often difficult and strained.

Ironically, severe critics of labor relations in the North developed simultaneously in two very different movements—pro-slavery ideologues in the South and labor leaders in the North. According to George Fitzhugh, John C. Calhoun and other pro-slavery thinkers, the liberty of the northern wage earner was little more than the choice between selling his labor for a fraction of its true value, or starving. In contrast to the southern slave, who was provided for in sickness and old age, and never subjected to the tyranny of the marketplace, the free laborer of the North was a slave of the market, these writers insisted.

Northern workers, of course, were not likely to agree with Fitzhugh's conclusion that slavery was the best possible condition for all labor, white as well as black. But early labor leaders did agree that northern workers were not as much better off than the slaves as many believed. The phrase that entered the language of politics in the 1830s to describe the plight of the northern worker was "wage slavery." A comparison between the status of the northern worker and the southern slave—often to the detriment of the free worker—became a standard component of labor rhetoric in these years (and would remain so long after the abolition of slavery.)

In language similar to the southern critics', New England labor leader Seth Luther declared that northern factory

labor conditions North and South. But for those reared in the tradition of the independent artisan, working for wages seemed a form of slavery, for it entailed a loss of personal autonomy and a sense of control over one's own destiny.

Workers who raised the cry of "wage slavery" were not indifferent to the evil of southern slavery. Many urban workers worried that emancipation of the slaves would unleash a flood of freedmen who might move north and challenge workers there for jobs and status. Many workers shared the racism endemic throughout American society. Their unions often excluded blacks from membership. But it was one thing to wish blacks to remain in the South, and another to believe they should remain slaves. After all, the idea of wage slavery contained condemnation of slavery itself. The central values of the early labor movement—liberty, democracy, personal independence, the right of the worker to the fruits of his or her labor—were obviously incompatible with the institution of slavery. And the intellectual fathers of the labor movement, Thomas Paine and Robert Owen, were well-known opponents of slavery.

It should not be surprising, therefore, that northern workers played a significant role in the movement against slavery. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the Massachusetts abolitionist, later recalled that in Worcester, the anti-slavery cause was "far stronger for a time in the factories and shoe shops than in the pulpits or colleges." In New York City, the largest number of signers of abolitionist petitions in the 1830s were the city's artisans.

The radical artisans who met each year to celebrate Tom Paine's birthday usually included among their resolutions a denunciation of slavery and a salute to Haiti, where a black revolution had overthrown the slave system.

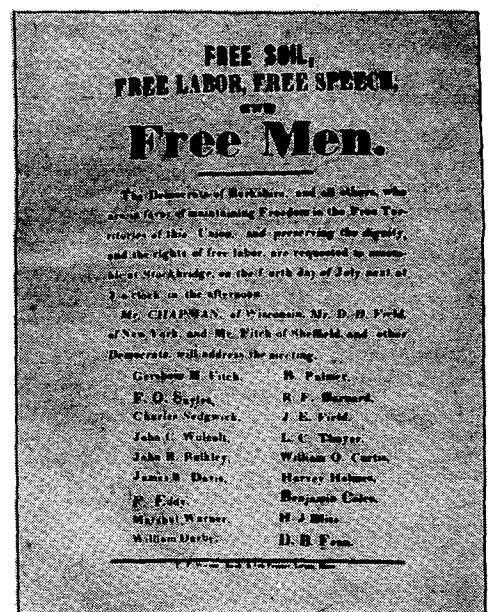
By the same token, city merchants and early factory owners were likely to be hostile to the abolitionist cause, for their welfare was closely tied to trade with the South and the weaving of textiles from slave-grown cotton.

Yet relations between the labor movement and abolitionism were not always friendly. In 1831, the very first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, a militant voice of the anti-slavery cause, included an attack on northern labor reformers. "We are the friends of reform," Garrison wrote, "but this is not reform, which in curing one evil, threatens to inflict a thousand others." In response, northern labor spokesman William West insisted that labor and abolition should work together. Each, he declared, was trying to secure from a group of laborers "the fruits of their toil."

During the 1840s, socialist reformer Albert Brisbane called on abolitionists to attack the exploitation of wage workers in the North. But most abolitionists, themselves property owners, accepted northern labor relations as natural and just. The labor movement, expressing an ideal with roots in the republican tradition of the American revolution, equated freedom with ownership of productive property. The wage earner, in their view, was not truly free because his livelihood was dependent on the will of others. The abolitionist movement, by contrast, developed a new notion of freedom, equating it simply with self-ownership, that is, not being a slave.

Labor and anti-slavery.

During the 1840s, a handful of abolitionist spokesmen, moving toward a critique of the plight of northern labor, attempted to forge an alliance with labor leaders. Nathaniel Rogers, editor of a New Hampshire newspaper, proposed a grand alliance of the "producing classes"—southern slaves and northern workers—against exploiters of labor in both sections. Living amidst the expanding factory system of New England, Rogers



concluded, "We have got to look to the working people of the North, to sustain and carry on the Anti-Slavery movement."

At the same time, several labor leaders and political figures sympathetic to labor—such as George Henry Evans, the English labor reformer now living in the U.S., and Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*—sought to link the interests of labor and anti-slavery in a different way. The labor movement had been devastated by the depression of 1837-42, and when it reemerged in the 1840s, its focus was on land reform. Evans, Greeley and many others concluded that "land monopoly" was the root of the problems of northern labor. The solution was the Homestead plan—every person who so desired should receive 160 acres of public land free of charge from the federal government. This would enable eastern workers to escape "wage slavery" altogether, by establishing their economic independence on farms in the West. Those who remained behind would benefit by the reduction in the number of laborers, which would lead to wage increases. Land reform would thus solve the problem of urban poverty, and offer every workingman the opportunity to achieve independence.

The homestead idea, or "free soil," as it came to be called, was implicitly anti-slavery, because free homesteads could not coexist with large plantations manned by slaves. For such a proposal

The Free Soil Party placed slavery and free soil at the center of American politics in the 1850s.

to be put into effect, the spread of slavery into the western territories had to be barred.

In 1848 a coalition of anti-slavery politicians and labor leaders like Evans formed the Free Soil Party, the first substantial third party committed to stopping the extension of slavery and to providing free land to settlers. The Free Soilers, with Van Buren as their candidate for president, polled ten percent of the popular vote, and won considerable support from labor organizations. It placed slavery and free soil at the center stage of politics, and began the process of eliminating the breach that existed between abolitionists and labor.

Previously, many abolitionists had seen labor's demands as distracting attention from the pressing needs of the southern slave, while labor leaders had often viewed abolition as a way of divert-

Continued on page 22.



Women employees struck the shoe mills of Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1860.

and the existence of the South's "peculiar institution."

The continued existence of second-class status for blacks more than a century after the abolition of slavery changes the terms but not the essence of this contradiction between racism and equality, which lies in the slavery period.

As it developed in the 1830s and 1840s, the attitude of northern working people toward slavery was ambiguous. Like other northerners, workers saw slavery as a violation of the principles of equality and liberty enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and central to American political culture. But relations

workers toiled longer each day than did slave plantation workers. A New Hampshire labor newspaper asked, "A great cry is raised in the northern states against southern slavery. The sin of slavery may be abominable there, but is it not equally so here? If they have black slaves, have we not white ones?"

In New York City, when striking journeymen tailors were convicted of conspiracy in 1836, they issued the famous Cofin handbill, declaring, "The freemen of the North are now on a level with the slaves of the South."

"Wage slavery," of course, was not usually meant as a literal comparison of la-

CUBA

Paul Hoeffel visited both Cuba and the Florida refugee camps to investigate the circumstances surrounding the flight of 119,000 Cubans to U.S. shores this spring. In Cuba he found deep resentment toward the voluntary exiles. And among the refugees he sensed confused and unrealistic expectations about the good life of American consumerism. Since Hoeffel wrote this report, a spate of hijackings and attempted hijackings by disgruntled refugees has again focused public attention on the motives—and the misperceptions—of the "Freedom Flotilla."



Nereyda Garcia

The Right To Buy



HE AIR IS FRIGID INSIDE Luis' custom-painted Chevy van as we drive across Miami to the Cuban refugee center.

Luis, a jolly 40-year-old Cuban, likes to keep his air conditioner on high. He runs a shoe repair shop here but I know him from his shop on 97th Street and Broadway in New York. He has done well for himself during his 22 years in the States; he owns a boat and a couple of small houses as well as the van. "You watch," Luis needles me. "The island will be empty by the time you get there. Fidel will be coming over on the next boat."

The refugee center is on the waterfront, a cavernous airplane hangar turned boxing arena. The Miami Cubans, *la comunidad*, are mobilized. Inside, the center is lined with cots. Several hundred new arrivals are milling around. Piled high around the boxing ring are perhaps two tons of brightly packaged groceries—a magic mountain of plastic. It is *la comunidad's* most effective way of saying "Welcome to America."

I approach some refugees being served plates of homemade rice and beans, their backs turned to the magic mountain as if in self-defense. The men, all in their 20s and 30s, are eager to talk and for the next six hours I hear a dozen stories, striking in their similarity.

Pedro, a 19-year-old with a long face and a pencil mustache, joins us fresh from Zayre's, decked out in Wranglers, an Alligator shirt and cheap running shoes. "These pants alone would cost \$200 in Havana. This whole outfit cost me just \$35." Pedro left Cuba against his family's wishes. His job in a shoe shop paid him less than \$100 a month and



Pedro subsidized his income by selling black market clothing and, more recently, very scarce marijuana at \$50 a joint.

Their complaints against Cuba rarely touch on political issues. These are consumer refugees. The freedom they want is the freedom to buy. They want *things*; they feel desperately deprived. The revolution was an incidental pain in the ass—a lot of work, a lot of study and little material reward.

Back in the parking lot, the beer party is in full swing around Luis' gold van. A handsome bearded man named Manuel is sipping a beer, dressed to kill in a new cowboy outfit. Only the boots are missing. He's wearing new Hush Puppies. "I'll have to get a job before I can get the pair I want," he explains confidently.

At 27, Manuel is as likely a candidate for Cuba's *hombre nuevo*, the new revolutionary citizen, as one could hope to find. Born to a formerly lower-middle-class family, he received a revolutionary education and became an X-ray technician. Russian specialists trained him to detect welding flaws in pipes. He liked his work, he insists, but there wasn't much room for advancement or enough variety to the projects he worked on.

As a bachelor his salary was more than adequate. "I love to dress well," he says with obvious pride. "With no one else to support I basically worked to buy nice clothes." But fashionable foreign clothes stand out in Cuba. "My neighbors became envious and resentful that I had so many things. They began to make life hard for me."

He bartered with his Russian technician friends for their bimonthly allotment of good quality clothing. "The Russians get paid even less than the Cubans."

Mel Rosenthal

WRITTEN BY PAUL HEATH HOFFEL
PHOTOGRAPHY BY NEREYDA GARCIA AND MEL ROSENTHAL

They sell what they can to make ends meet." Last year Manuel's uncle, a shopkeeper in Union City, N.J., was among the 100,000 members of *la comunidad* who visited Cuba as tourists, laden with goods and clothes unavailable in Cuba. Inspired by this influx of rare devices, Manuel began to spend all his free time trading on the black market.

I tell Manuel I'm leaving for Havana in the morning. He says he wants to work in Texas but will probably end up in New Jersey. He gives me messages for his girlfriend in Havana. As Luis and I drive away, I ask him for his impressions of the evening. He's not quite so jolly. "I have a feeling it's not the best time to be arriving here," he concedes.



fter pushing my way onto the crowded bus, I pay the five-cent fare and watch the orderly stucco homes as we lurch through a lush residential section of Havana. I find myself at the door of Isabel's modest two-family home in 20 minutes. Isabel is the 60-year-old aunt of Gerry, the superintendent of my building in New York and formerly known as Gerardo. Tacked to the door is a crude poster reading: "*Somos un país pobre pero digno.*" "We're a poor country but we have dignity." Isabel and her three-year-old grandson Roberto, wearing a Mao cap and clutching a plastic machine gun, welcome me without hesitation and sit me down to coffee in the bare kitchen. It's a four-room apartment for which they pay \$22 a month—no one in Cuba pays more than 8 percent of his or her income on rent. Isabel's 21-year-old daughter Carmen is studying agronomy at the provincial university and is not expected until late. Her husband is on guard duty at the cigarette factory where he works. She tells me that they are making cigarettes from Spanish tobacco because last year's tobacco crop was wiped out by blight. Cigar production, an important source of export revenue, has fallen drastically. With another blight infecting parts of the sugar cane crop and a virus that has forced the slaughter of many of the island's pigs, the economy is getting a battering.

I bring a small bag of presents from New York—shampoo, Band-Aids, razor blades, Tylenol for children, socks, shoes, a calculator—and a letter that Gerry had warned me contained an offer to help them leave the country. Isabel reads the letter and shakes her head. "They just don't understand. This is our home. We don't want to leave."

"There's plenty to eat," Isabel assures me, opening the cupboard to reveal meagre supplies of rice, beans, lard, onions, potatoes, cabbage and coffee. "There's just not much variety." According to Isabel, everyone is anticipating the new farmers' market, which will enable farmers to bring homegrown produce to the cities and towns to sell for cash.

Little Roberto demands that we watch his favorite TV program, a serial about Russians fighting Nazi invaders. Isabel's favorite show, a telenovela called *Lost Illusions*, has been disrupted for two weeks now because its leading actor is among those who have skipped town.

Have any of her friends left? "No personal friends. You hear about neighbors leaving. Some of them had better homes and jobs than we do. I don't understand it. We've been through much harder times than these."

All over town there are posters reading: "*Que se vaya la escoria*"—"Throw the bums out, good riddance to the criminals and traitors." Some are illustrated with assorted vermin crawling toward red, white and blue trashcans. Many of the posters come from government printing shops, others are handlettered, but they are everywhere. Walking around town I frequently encounter spontaneous demonstrations of 10 or 20 persons chanting these slogans outside the apartment building where a "traitor"—someone who has registered to leave—lives. There is something forced and abusive to the campaign. Clearly not all those who have opted to leave are "scum" or "criminal." But those who remain feel the emigres have betrayed the revolution

and, worse, have sought out the nation that has most contributed to Cuba's difficulties.

Does it affect Isabel? "Only that the guys who were stealing laundry off the clotheslines for the black market have stopped. I suppose they've taken the opportunity to broaden their horizons."

At 8:00 the evening news comes on featuring special video footage of the violent clash May 2 between hundreds of former political prisoners demonstrating for visas outside the American Interest Section and pro-revolutionaries. The fighting—bricks and boards flying in all direction—has upset the Cubans, who are unaccustomed to such violence. As well, the government is outraged by U.S. media reports that government security "thugs" had provoked the incident.

Again I am faced with the questions: What is staged and what is spontaneous? What is official and what is popular? The more Cubans I interview, the grayer the issues become. There is genuine rapport between official and popular atti-



tudes. The grass-roots organizations such as the Revolutionary Defense Committees (CDRs)—revolutionary block associations—are a part of the state, yet are formed and administered by the neighborhoods. It's not surprising that upon hearing about an anti-government demonstration at the American Interest Section, hundreds of CDR members from surrounding neighborhoods rushed to the scene. Shouting "Down with the Revolution" and "Down with Fidel" anywhere in Cuba is pretty certain to elicit a response akin to a KKK march through Harlem.

I have to leave after the news and Isabel gives me a letter for New York, a polite but firm rejection of the offer to help. "Tell them," she says with a quick smile, "that we are waiting for them."

A state car picks me up at the hotel to take me to the Central Committee headquarters on the Revolution Plaza for an informal visit with Cuban officialdom. As Santiago, the driver, points out the sights, I am suddenly aware that what are distinct pleasures for me—no traffic jams, clean air, the absence of the clutter of advertising—are mixed blessings for the Cubans. Underindustrialization, shortages of transport, near total absence of consumer goods are all silent witnesses to Cuba's underdevelopment and, despite the successes of the revolution, to the nation's material poverty. Only a pervasive revolutionary consciousness keeps this country going.

We arrive at Revolution Plaza. Conceived under Fulgencio Batista, it is really the only part of Havana not built to a human scale. The Plaza is now used for rallies—like the one last May Day—of more than a million people. A lot of people. At the entrance to the enormous structure housing the Communist Party, Cuba's ultimate seat of power, I am greeted by Sylvia, a 45-year-old party official. We talk freely over coffee and fresh orange juice about the problems facing the government.

I ask if Cubans are having second thoughts about the open-door policy for tourists from the *comunidad* in the U.S. I have heard many people blame the re-

vitalized black market and growing discontent on the influx of tourists and their flaunting of the better life on the mainland.

"We have no regrets," Sylvia explains. "We have benefited from better relations with the *comunidad*. They ring for foreign exchange, we're able to reunite families, and the policy has successfully isolated the right-wing terrorist groups like Omega 7. The policy will continue."

And what is the impact of the exodus on the revolution? "I think the 99 percent of Cubans who have decided to stay are that much more committed. It's a voluntary revolution, which allows those who oppose it to leave."

How does she explain the large number of young people leaving, people born within the revolution? "We are surprised. It's puzzling to us how a sector of our youth resists integration into the new society. I think it's a problem for all revolutions that the second generation forgets what it was like before the revolution."

Creeping bureaucracy, economic mismanagement and cooling revolutionary fervor are also problems facing Cubans in their twenty-first year of socialist transition. But Cuban authorities are strikingly frank about problems and mistakes. Several steps have been taken to revitalize the state structures and the economy since around 1975. The promotion of tourism and the mining industry are attempts to diversify the sugar-dominated economy. There is also an effort to decentralize state power through democratic assemblies called Popular Power. At the municipal level assemblies are elected directly from the neighborhoods. Provincial and national assemblies in turn elect delegates who might receive special education in economics, for example, so they can respond more realistically to grass-roots demands created by food and housing shortages.

The open farmers' markets also represent one of several reforms designed to raise productivity by broadening the range of personal incentives, again at the risk of whetting non-socialist appetites.

But the economy remains underdeveloped. Hard work and voluntary labor have not proven sufficient to make the enormous strides the revolutionaries envisioned in the early '60s.

The vitality of the revolution is perhaps best felt today in its aid to a variety of liberation movements, a policy that can't be written off as mere Soviet puppetry. Doctors, technicians, teachers and soldiers are among Cuba's most valued exports.

I ask Sylvia if a sort of cultural revolution is in the making. "Things are being shaken up because of long-term economic and political problems, not because of the exodus. There will always be people who are not willing to make the sacrifices for socialism. But it's a situation where the new generation of Cubans is going to have to take to the streets to fight for the revolution. That's an important fight."



ETTING ORIENTED ON MY second evening in Havana, I decide to deliver Manuel's message to his girlfriend. It's after dark when I arrive at her family's three-room apartment on a quiet street near the center of town. Adela is thickset and pretty with short, bleached hair. Living with her are her parents and her brother and sister-in-law, who sleep on the living room couch. Guido, a young actor friend, eats his meals with them but lives in a rented room a couple of blocks away. Like all the homes I visit it is small and bare.

They receive me graciously and are relieved to hear that Manuel arrived safely in Miami. Adela is ambivalent about joining him. The entire family seems unhappy with their situation: the living quarters are cramped, good jobs are scarce. Adela's father works in a grocery store and claims that the quality of many products is declining. "The powdered milk gets less yellow each month and the evaporated milk is little more than liquid sugar at this point," he claims. "I don't think that children are getting enough nutrition."

Will they leave? "We've talked about

it," according to his wife. "But nothing ever happens." Adela's father looks a little sheepish. "It's true. Every time I listen to Fidel he talks me out of it. Gotta stop listening to the bastard's speeches." Everyone laughs.

Guido wants me to see his room so Adela changes—into American jeans of course—and we set off down the block. A group of neighbors are chatting in front of the office of the local CDR post. As we approach, Guido warns me to be silent. After we pass, he confides that he is religious and wants to leave Cuba. In his room he has constructed a small but elaborate shrine for the Virgin Mary. "If they found out I'm religious I'd probably lose my job at the theater where I work."

I'm surprised by Guido's admission as well as his collection of plaster Virgins. The only religion I had come across thus far was the ubiquitous cult of American jeans.

Are you opposed to the revolution, I inquire? "Not really. I'd rather be left alone, and they won't leave me alone." I agree to deliver a message to a church group he has contacted in the States.

I leave Guido and Adela as he begins to light votive candles, and return to the CDR post to ask for directions back to my hotel. On a transistor radio, Donna

Summer is coming in loud and clear from Miami. After five minutes of debate, the *vigilantes*, as I have heard them referred to in the U.S. press, send me off into the balmy night.

A COUPLE OF FRIENDS HAD recommended that I talk with Juan Carlos, a sixty-ish union official, because of his long experience with the Revolution. When I realized that he was openly homosexual, my interest doubled. I had heard disturbing reports of suppression of gays in Cuba.

A flip reference in the official newspaper *Granma* to the large number of homosexuals in the unsavory crowd of 10,000 at the Peruvian embassy had raised my doubts about the reigning policy. "The *Granma* remark was incorrect," Juan Carlos acknowledges. "Homosexuals have been persecuted in the past partly because of their role in pre-revolutionary Cuba, which associated them with prostitution and gambling, vices that the revolution aimed to eradicate. Now there's a distinction made between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary gays—as with everyone else. Cultural prejudices, and the old *machismo-leninismo*, are slow to change. I can't deny that."

Strolling through Old Havana we pass a bookstore where Juan Carlos points out a book on sex education by an East German psychologist. "That's now the official school text," he assures me. "The chapter on homosexuality is as enlightened as they come."

Other people I speak to about the homosexual question, gays and straights alike, back up Juan Carlos' claims. The period when gays were put in work camps and forbidden to teach in schools is remembered with regret. Now gays tend to be either integrated into the revolution or unhappy and craving the freedom of separatist gay culture that exists in a few American cities. While gays are fairly visible around Havana, particularly among the dancers in the cabarets and dance troupes, the lesbian community is notably invisible.

Like many of the revolutionaries I talk with, Juan Carlos is surprised by the number of people who have chosen to leave. The discontent that did exist seemed to be dissipated through the normal social channels of bitching and complaining. The difference between the Freedom Flotilla now and the Freedom Flights of the '60s, he observes, lies in the vehemence of popular reaction.

"People were silent in the face of the earlier exoduses. Today they are far more politically aware and consider those who leave as traitors to the revolution. Emotions are running pretty high." Juan Carlos tells me about an incident outside his union headquarters. When a young man told his *companeros* that he was planning to leave, they organized a demonstration outside and chanted abuses at him. When he came out, a woman took off her shoe and started beating him on the shoulder until several people stopped her, saying, "You can shout and yell at him, but no violence."

Do you know anyone who's leaving? "A friend, a doctor trained since the revolution, came to my house a few days ago to say goodbye. I was astonished and asked him why. He couldn't explain. He said he simply wanted a change, that he didn't want to live in Cuba anymore. It made me sad."

Back on 97th Street, Gerry receives me with a hero's welcome, delighted I made it through enemy lines with fresh supplies of razor blades and socks for his family. We are back to arguing within minutes. Looking through the news stories that appeared in my absence, I am

struck by their uniform hostility toward Cuba. Although the media blitz is waning, the urge to discredit the revolution remains the dominant theme.

Cuba remains a problem; it must be discredited. Despite its meagre resources the revolution has produced an orderly, healthy, educated society—a model for its Caribbean neighbors and the Third World in general. Its enlightened priorities, its enthusiasm and its very reluctant austerity are in themselves subversive—a threat to the entire area.

The Cuban economy, partly crippled by the economic blockade set up by the U.S. in 1961, remains an easy target for critics of the regime. Cuba's proximity to the U.S. mainland and the existence of the American *comunidad* invite comparison with the U.S. But Cuba remains a poor nation and will not—indeed, cannot—attempt to duplicate this entirely different economic order.

The real comparisons are with Cuba's neighbors in the Caribbean. In contrast to Haiti, the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, Cuba is a paragon of development.

The material limits of the revolution are being sorely felt. It's unlikely that there will be much improvement in the island's standard of living. The cult of designer jeans, an expression of consumer discontent in Cuba, can only be confronted on ideological terms. The average citizen's awareness of the underlying causes for their austere living conditions is highly developed. This pervasive consciousness, so mysterious to North Americans, is the basis for the *hombre nuevo* who is still a couple of generations from realization. It is a consciousness that seeps into the most unlikely places.

Toward midnight on the evening I spent with Juan Carlos, he left me to present himself for guard duty in his neighborhood CDR. Before departing, he told me a story his doctor friend had told him after he had registered to leave from Mariel Bay. While waiting in the police station, an unkempt older man came in to register as well. He acknowledged to the officials that he had served time for stealing but was adamant that they keep his record straight. "I'm a thief," he emphasized, "but I am not a counter-revolutionary."

Paul E. Hoeffel is a New York-based writer who recently won the overseas Press Club Award for his reporting on Argentina.



Nereyda Garcia

Cuba Softens Stance On Gays

Among the recent Cuban immigrants to the U.S. were a number of gays. Their arrival sparked renewed interest in the way that homosexuality is addressed by the Cuban Revolution. Ann Ferguson, a philosophy professor at the University of Massachusetts, visited Cuba this spring and investigated attitudes toward sex roles. Following are some of her findings; a more complete report was published in *The Valley Women's Voice* (Everywoman's Center, University of Massachusetts, Amherst).

BY ANN FERGUSON

GAYS ARE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR membership in the Cuban Communist Party. Cubans say it's because of the use of gay men as CIA agents during the Revolution. Whatever the case, this belief led in the first stages of post-Revolutionary Cuba to the mass jailings of gays as "anti-social" elements, a policy now admitted to have been a mistake by many Cuban officials. That practice was discontinued after a few years and it is no longer a criminal

offense to be gay.

Margaret Randall, an American poet and feminist who has been living in Cuba since 1969, says that the Communist Party position on homosexuality has become noticeably more tolerant in recent years. One important bit of evidence she offered me was a look at a new textbook on sex education, a Spanish translation of a book written in the German Democratic Republic: *Man and Woman in Intimacy*. In the book homosexuality is not classified under the chapter on "Sexual Deviations," but appears as a short subsequent chapter. The introductory paragraph argues that there is no scientific basis for the widespread belief that homosexuality is unnatural, sinful or a mental disease. It claims, on the contrary, that homosexual relations can be just as healthy, mature and responsible as heterosexual relationships.

Alberto Orlandin, director of the Gustavo Machin Mental Hospital in Santiago, said that homosexuality is not a recognized category of mental sickness at mental hospitals in Cuba today. Homosexuals may be psychotic or neurotic, but this results not from homosexuality but from negative social pressure from a



culture still steeped in machismo.

More evidence of a change in status for homosexuals was reported to us by several members of the Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC). UNEAC has eliminated the restriction against gay artists as Cuban representatives to international cultural conferences. In the last several years Cuban gay artists of high stature (e.g. theater directors, etc.) have been included in such Cuban delegations. UNEAC does not discriminate internally either: the head of the UNEAC photography division in Havana is a known lesbian.

In spite of the increase in official tolerance of homosexuality, popular homophobia remains strong. Perhaps a major reason that so many gays emigrated to the U.S. recently is the difficulty of forming a successful countercultural "gay pride," as the American gay liberation movement can provide for its members. Gays may not form public caucuses or interest groups to advocate rights for homosexuals in Cuba. There is a general Party ban on political interest groups that may be politically divisive, and thus counter-revolutionary.

BY MAX GORDON

WHEN CUBANS BEGAN arriving in the U.S. from Mariel harbor, early press stories suggested that Castro was emptying Cuba's mental hospitals and getting rid of the terminally ill. But the U.S. Center for Disease Control reported that the health of the arrivals was "good," and that illnesses were ones that "one would expect from any such large group." Of 5,247 screened at Elgin Air Force Base, nine were psychiatric cases, three had primary syphilis and three had secondary syphilis. In the first week 78 were hospitalized, mostly because of asthma.

Recently I interviewed two young Cuban-born women whose parents—one wealthy and one middle-class—fled Cuba after the revolution. Both now New York medical professionals, the women returned to Cuba for the first time last summer and spent much of their four weeks there studying hospital and health care conditions. The Antonio Maceo Brigade sponsored the group of 175 with which Mendoza and Santana travelled. Dr. Concha Mendoza is completing her third year of residency at Kings County Hospital in Brooklyn, Sarah Santana, a doctoral candidate in epidemiology at Columbia, was administrator of an East Harlem health center.

"My strongest impression," declared Mendoza, "was that in Cuba health and hospital care is systematized, in contrast to the non-system we have here." This "systematized health care" rests on several principles. People's health, first of all, is entirely a state responsibility. Full, free medical and hospital coverage is guaranteed to everyone (except medication to the ambulatory, non-chronically ill, which is not free). Prevention is the primary goal.

At Kings County, tuberculosis patients are admitted almost daily. An initial follow-up exists, but it is unsystematic. Only when the condition flares up does the patient return. TB has been sharply reduced in Cuba. The case rate was 13 per 100,000 last year, compared with 12.6 in the U.S. (18.1 in the South). The U.S. Center for Disease Control reports that the Cuban TB rate is one of the lowest in the Western hemisphere. Frequent testing and check-up follow hospital release so as to prevent or quickly to detect recurrence.

Kings County similarly releases patients of drug addiction, alcoholism and delirium tremens (which has a high mortality rate) without systematic follow-up. While Cubans do drink, alcoholism



Mel Rosenthal

As Healthy As The Rest Of Us

and drug addiction have sharply reduced and delirium tremens is a medical rarity. Mendoza attributes this decline to the system of check-up and popular assumption of responsibility.

Cubans in certain occupations involving health hazards must register at local "polyclinics" annually for check-ups (more often for the more dangerous jobs) and block associations urge all Cubans to volunteer to do so. A worker gets time off for inspection and if he fails to register or show up, a messenger reminds him.

Mass organizations, including the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the trade union federation, the Federation of Cuban Women and the Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), provide the backbone of this health support system. They conduct immunization campaigns, check on treatment for

transmittable diseases, carry on sanitation drives, send pregnant women and new mothers to the appropriate obstetrics and pediatrics facilities, ensure that women get regular pap smears and check on ex-hospital patients.

Health Councils, consisting of representatives from the Health Ministry and from each mass organization, guide the organizations. Such major diseases as polio, diphtheria, gastroenteritis and the parasitic infestations have been largely wiped out. Such causes of hospitalization as child- and wife-beating, frequent at Kings County, are extremely rare in Cuban hospitals.

Some Cubans, Mendoza observed, object to intervention into their private lives. People complain of hassles associated with the periodic physical check-up procedures. A few have cited interference in their lives by the CDRs as the

reason for seeking to leave Cuba. But because of the health system, life expectancy in Cuba now approximates ours. Infant mortality, a major index of a nation's "quality of life," has dropped from 37 per 1,000 births in 1958 to 19.3 last year, by far the lowest in Latin America. In contrast, in Central Harlem, it is 40; in Bedford Stuyvesant, 44; in New York City overall, 19.

As in the U.S., some 98 percent of Cuban infants are born in hospitals. Expectant mothers make biweekly and eventually weekly visits to obstetrics centers. Working mothers get paid during maternity leave for 18 weeks, 12 of them after birth. The government guarantees milk to all children in Cuba, a quart to all those under two.

Mendoza considers physical conditions in Kings County Hospital "a disaster."

Continued on page 22.



Nereyda Garcia

You Can Go Home Again

BY PAT AUFDERHEIDE

THE KIDS CAME HOME FOR A visit in July. Cuban kids, whose folks had taken or sent them, many in 1961 or 1962, to the U.S. And now 100 of them returned. This was the third "contingent," the third trip since 1977, of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, the organization for Cuban-American children who recognize the present government. Many on the tour, a good third, had already made one trip back. (The thrill of the first trip was caught in a Cuban documentary, *55 Hermanos*.) Others were first timers, some of whom weren't Brigade members but who merely agreed with the Brigade's tenets: that the U.S. should end the blockade of Cuba, and that terrorism is condemned.

For veterans, the trip—which occurred as U.S. media coverage of the so-called "freedom flotilla" was waning—had a



Nereyda Garcia's grandmother (above); Cuba's monument to Antonio Maceo

different cast as a result of current events.

"It used to be an emotional confrontation—there was almost a maternal attitude toward us," said Maria de los Angeles (Nenita) Torress. Nenita, whose

aunt and family still live in Havana, has returned to Cuba several times, most recently in May. "This year people stopped us on the street wanting to know what was going on in the U.S., asking us if we had met any of the emigrants, how they were treated. It was more of an exchange of information."

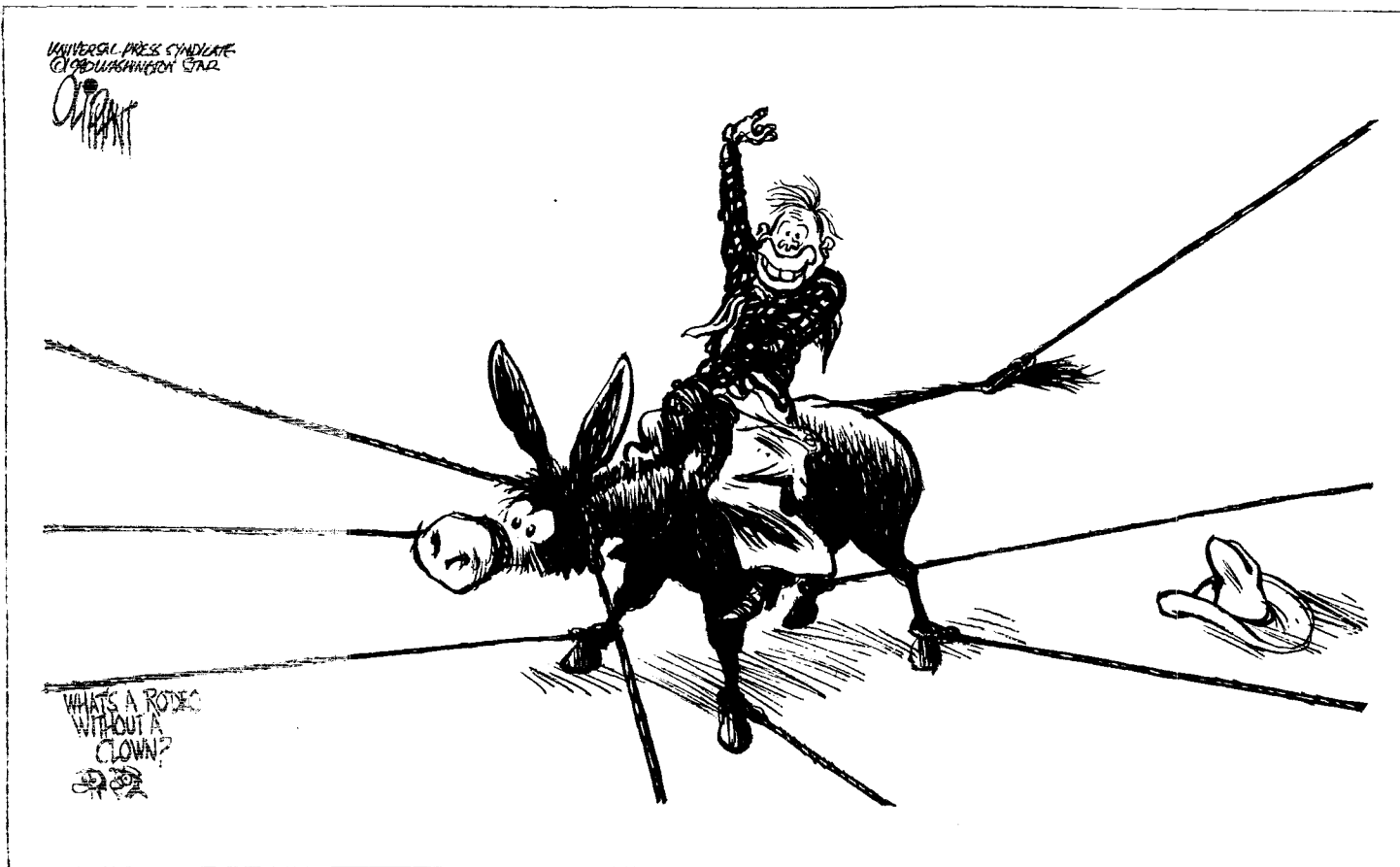
The visitors entered a sea of references to the emigrants, called *escoria* (scum). They saw graffiti on houses: "Someday your children will call you traitor." They watched a short color documentary, a witty collage made by documentarist Santiago Alvarez about the exodus from Mariel harbor, called *Gone with the Wind*. They attended a Havana theater presentation of "escoria olympics," in which the emigrants competed, for instance, for most quick-fingered thief.

By July tempers had cooled from the days in May when Committees for the Defense of the Revolution had to keep an eye on outraged demonstrators out-

Continued on page 22.

IN THESE TIMES

EDITORIAL



Left must go to the districts

Beneath the relatively calm surface of the Democratic Convention, discontent ran deep. This was a convention of negatives and nostalgia in a year of negatives and nostalgia. Carter survived the open convention movement designed to replace him only because there was no viable alternative candidate. Kennedy became a hero only after he was safely defeated, and then by eloquently evoking the good old days of a failed liberalism. Once nominated, Carter had only one thing going for him—fear of Reagan—just as Reagan's major asset is popular disgust with Carter—and as Anderson's only hope is to be the least unpalatable of three evils.

Almost four years ago, in the very first issue of *In These Times*, we commented that the new element in Jimmy Carter's narrow victory over Gerald Ford was that more and more people were finding the differences between the major parties and their candidates and programs to be insignificant. Voters and non-voters, we wrote, know, or sense, that the limits of debate set by the major parties prevent the shedding of old alternatives and the setting of new goals. To more and more people, we said, it is clear that the political system is at an impasse. It presents us with little more than dilemmas: choices between equally obnoxious or no longer credible candidates and prospects.

That was in 1976. In 1980 things look very much the same, at least on the surface. And the reason remains the same—that in neither major party has there been discussion of the underlying reality of this country's malaise: corporate capitalism. Our system of investment, of allocating resources and labor. That topic is a political taboo to conservatives and liberals alike. Even Kennedy could do little more, in his appeal to the working-class, black and feminist constituencies that gave the New Deal coalition its majorities, than mouth platitudes. He could do no more because he is a part of a bipartisan commitment to accommodate government policy and public expectations to the needs and limits of our corporation-dominated system.

In 1976, we wrote that this was to be expected, because, as protection agencies of the large corporations, the major parties' job has been to keep corporate capitalism out of—"above"—politics, just as it has been the job of the Whig

and Democratic parties in pre-Civil War days to keep slavery out of politics. Those parties failed to protect slavery in the 1850s because determined people brought the reality of slave power into the electoral arena through the newly-formed Republican Party. Whether the left can bring the reality of corporate capitalism into the mainstream of American politics remains to be seen. So far, no sustained attempt has been made.

Something new.

But there is a difference between 1976 and 1980. This year there are the beginnings of challenges to the unquestioning subservience of American politics to corporate profit, both inside and outside of the Democratic Party.

On the outside, Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party argue that the problems of our society are not the result of too much government regulation—"big government"—but are the result of investment decisions made privately by giant corporations whose interest is not to solve social problems, or to prevent them, but simply to maximize their profits for the benefit of their major stockholders.

As Commoner points out, the energy crisis is the result of policies adopted by the oil companies after World War II to invest heavily in Middle Eastern oil, rather than to explore for more domestic oil, a decision made because much greater profits could be made that way. Similarly, the decision to make giant gas-guzzling autos was not the result of over-regulation of the auto industry, which Reagan says is the source of that industry's problems, but was made because there's a lot more profit in large cars than in small ones. Indeed, as Commoner likes to point out, a 1940 Plymouth got 22 miles per gallon, while a '60s model was lucky to get half of that. And, of course, as Commoner also emphasizes, the United States, alone among the major capitalist nations, has a steadily deteriorating passenger rail system because passenger railroads cannot be operated at a sufficiently high rate of profit to attract investment and because public investment in a modern rail system is ruled out by corporate domination of our government.

Commoner's call for social investment to solve the problems created by corporate policies in energy, transportation

and public health points the way to a politics along socialist lines that is the potential basis of a popular left politics. The problem for the Citizens Party is not a credible program, it is finding ways to make their organization and candidates credible.

A big step in that direction was taken when William Winpisinger walked out of the convention, along with some 85 other delegates, most of them members of the Machinists union, of which Winpisinger is president. Winpisinger, but not all of his fellow Machinists, announced that he intended to become part of a group of Democrats for Commoner. (See David Moberg, page 4.)

Meanwhile, at the convention, the first officially-recognized socialist caucus of the Democratic Party met with some 49 delegates and alternates present. New York City Council member Ruth Mesinger chaired and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt and Winpisinger addressed

the gathering. As Harrington made clear, some Democratic socialists would support Commoner, others Carter or even Anderson, and some would abstain from the presidential race and work on electing members of Congress.

Wrong emphasis.

This agreement to disagree was a healthy sign of the acceptance of diversity within the socialist movement, but, along with the inability of the caucus or the larger Democratic Agenda group to come up with a program that went beyond that of the Kennedy forces, it demonstrated the debilitating weakness of DSOC's focus on presidential politics. A socialist caucus without its own presidential candidate (and that is out of the question at this stage of the socialist left's development) is constrained to operate within the limits imposed by the candidate it supports—in this instance Ted Kennedy.

But beyond that, both in theory and as a practical matter, the primary emphasis on presidential politics is a dead end. The president is the nation's chief executive. As that, he (or some day maybe she) administers the system and must operate within the existing constraints, which above all now include pursuing policies that will not so offend the major corporations that they withhold investment to create a politically damaging recession.

In addition, as a matter of practical politics, the only hope the left has of electing socialists to office is on the scale of a legislative election, either to state legislatures, city councils or Congress. In such elections, it is not only possible but necessary for socialists to put forward a program of social control of investment that meets head-on the question of corporate capitalism. Both DSOC and the Citizens Party have had their origins in the presidential arena, partly because that is an old left tradition, but also for the practical reason that that is the only way for a relatively small group to gain some national attention and recognition. But as a long-term strategy, the road to power—and, in the short run, to popular agitation around socialist principles—lies first through the legislature.

One of the more heartening developments at the Democratic Convention was the expression of determination by Winpisinger and other Machinists to embark on this road following the 1980 election. We hope that DSOC and the Citizens Party will join the march. ■



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Rep. Ron Dellums
8th District, California

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

IN LOCO PARENTI

YOUR STORY ON DRAFT REGISTRATION (*ITT*, July 30) might just as well have been written by a Selective Service official—for all the socialist perspective it offered.

The story's headline: "Non-Registrants May Face Jail Term and Fine" is just what the government has been wanting us to believe all along.

•During the Vietnam War, the Pentagon estimated that half a million people failed to register. The actual figure may have been higher.

•Of these, relatively few were caught, and almost all of the ones caught were given a second chance to register.

•Less than 1 percent of the non-registrants went to jail, and most were released within a year.

•Once you register it will be harder to avoid military service (or jail if you decide to resist).

•The registration system is largely self-policing. It depends on people obeying because they believe they are being policed. The more who resist, the easier will resistance be.

Too often, *In These Times*' handling of the news seems indistinguishable from that of most liberal publications. It is not that we want you to editorialize every story. It is just that you often lack the socialist analysis that would enable you to unearth and report facts that are most useful and important to us.

—Michael Parenti

Visiting Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

LIFELINE

THE STATE OF AMERICAN POLITICS IS bad enough without contemplating the disappearance of *In These Times*. Your news and perspective is like a lifeline of sanity in a sea of myopic judgments and simple-minded greed. Enclosed is an unfortunately small contribution, which you'll receive monthly.

—Daniel Thibodeau, Paula Russell
Austin, Texas

FACING REALITY?

IFOUND THE DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC planning in your last issue of great interest. I feel, however, that you neglected the most practical form of planning, that is, pro-corporate planning for full employment. By this, I mean planning that would rely on the federal government guaranteeing the profits of corporations when they invested in socially beneficial areas.

For example, this could mean guaranteeing G.M. a 10 percent profit on money they invest in producing fuel-efficient, non-polluting autos. To qualify for such guarantees, it would also be possible to require corporations to have safe working conditions and pay high wages. Since their profits would be guaranteed after meeting society's requirements in these areas, there would be no incentive for them to lower costs in such anti-social ways. This would of course result in the politicizing of the entire capital-labor compact, but since the problem of this economy remains insufficient aggregate demand, labor should have nothing to fear.

This scheme calls for guaranteeing profits to corporations, which can in no sense be said to be deserved. Such a

program is nonetheless necessary right now, because of the power of the big corporations. More anti-corporate planning, such as that proposed by Commoner, might be preferable, but for the moment it is not realistic. If Commoner is extremely lucky, he'll get 5 percent of the vote in the election. We have to face the reality that people are looking right before they look left. The right may have no answers, but how many years of Reagan and war will it take before people realize this? The left should do what it can, now, to get the economy going, before some incredible catastrophe demonstrates how accurate our criticisms of capitalism were.

—Dean Baker
Chicago

A PAT FOR DON

IAPLAUD THE CONSISTENT QUALITY of Don McLeese's articles on rock music for *In These Times*. While new wave and punk rock now enjoy a certain amount of popular interest, this new-found acceptability has tended to obscure the original political message behind the music. Many of the most significant social statements made by young people today can be heard in the new wave clubs across the country.

The messages are not necessarily hopeful or positive, but they are important and revealing. McLeese, unlike most critics, writes insightfully about both the music and the politics that merge together in rock today. It's nice to read articles that do not simply pay lip service to new wave lyrics and then launch out on a six-paragraph tribute to guitar solos. Keep up the good work, McLeese—and keep writing. (Oh, and by the way, the rest of your newspaper is awfully good, too.)

—Toni Gilpin
Evanston, Ill.

FORMULA VS. FORMULA

SURELY ROBERT M. ROMAN (LETTERS, *SITT*, July 30) must be old enough to have shed the utopian concept that unless democratic socialism arrives without authoritarian assistance "it does not even make for the possibility of socialism."

History has proven otherwise. As long as imperial military harassment persists, socialism has little chance of taking root without considerable dictatorial supervision. Social revolution is war and, as in wartime U.S.A., dictatorial power is vested in whoever happens to be Commander in Chief.

In what condition would the Russian people be today were it not for a Lenin? To what depth of misery would the Chinese people have sunk had it not been for a Mao? And what would have happened to the Cuban people without a Castro?

In the meantime I'll be wishing Robert the very best, and hoping that eventually he will join in the task of completing the unfinished revolution here in our own United States of America.

—Edward Drew Gourley
Walnut Creek, Calif.

UNINFORMED?

ART LLEBREZ'S LETTER (*ITT*, July 2) smacks of the same uninformed anti-Communist propaganda and smears one would find in most mainstream papers. I seriously question where Llebraz gets his information. If he were serious about understanding Cuba and "Communism," he would see that: (1) The U.S. economic blockade has caused far more serious problems for Cuba than he is willing to admit. (2) Cuba is not an oppressive country—the recent refugee exodus proves how open Cuba's emigration policy is—and Cubans are finding out that the U.S. is not the paradise it's made out to be. (3) As a result of a socialist revolution, Cuba has instituted free health care for all citizens, a system far better than that of any other Latin American country and better than ours. (4) Cuba's literacy rate is the best in all of Latin America, and better than ours. (5) Cuba has done much to combat racism and sexism, and has very low unemployment rates.

These are outstanding gains in 20 years and proof of what a revolution can do for a third world country that is still relatively poor and underdeveloped, with many problems yet to be solved.

—Stephen Krevisky
New York

IT TAKES TWO TO TANGLE

PAT AUFDERHEIDE'S ARTICLE ON THE actors' strike betrays an ignorance of the economic structure of the American movie and TV business. It takes two to make a strike. Management only "takes" a total strike when it will benefit management to do so. How is it benefitting the producers? It ain't. Because these producers are not management. They are only middlemen. The networks have "taken" the strike and are preventing the producers from negotiating.

These producers do not finance their shows; their money comes from the networks. For the last five years or so producers of successful shows have brought in each episode at a loss. The producers get whopping producer's fees, plus enormous profit in later syndication, foreign and all the other stuff that now includes cable and cassette.

This is especially true of film shows, which are contracted for, let's say, \$250,000 an episode. The producer spends \$300,000 to \$400,000 and then drops the bill on the network accountant's desk. And the networks have paid, up to now. Last spring the net-

works served notice that production would have to be brought in at the agreed-upon price. The producers shrugged and said this would be impossible. This strike is the culmination of that impasse.

The actors have struck at the height of production for the fall "premiere" season. Management (read, networks) has "taken" the strike because this is a terrific way to save money. Advertising has been contracted for way in advance, and, most important, for most major advertisers there is no alternative market. The network's revenues may not rise dramatically, but they won't fall. And the networks will save the multiple millions that are normally spent on the "premiere" fall season.

It's found money for them. They've got plenty on the shelf that was too awful to play before but that's still new.

The networks are going to reap a staggering profit from this strike. They will allow the producers to negotiate only when the fall season is safely behind them. Negotiations should start about Sept. 1.

—Anton Holden
Los Angeles

SPEAKING FOR HIMSELF

IDISAVOW THE ARTICLE *IN THESE Times* ran with my name ("Marchers for Gay Pride," *ITT*, July 16). The article I originally wrote was gutted of crucial political content as printed by *ITT*. Lesbians and gay men are so accustomed to official silence and invisibility that we sometimes grovel when given crumbs of recognition. But most of us are not grateful, we're angry and determined to be heard.

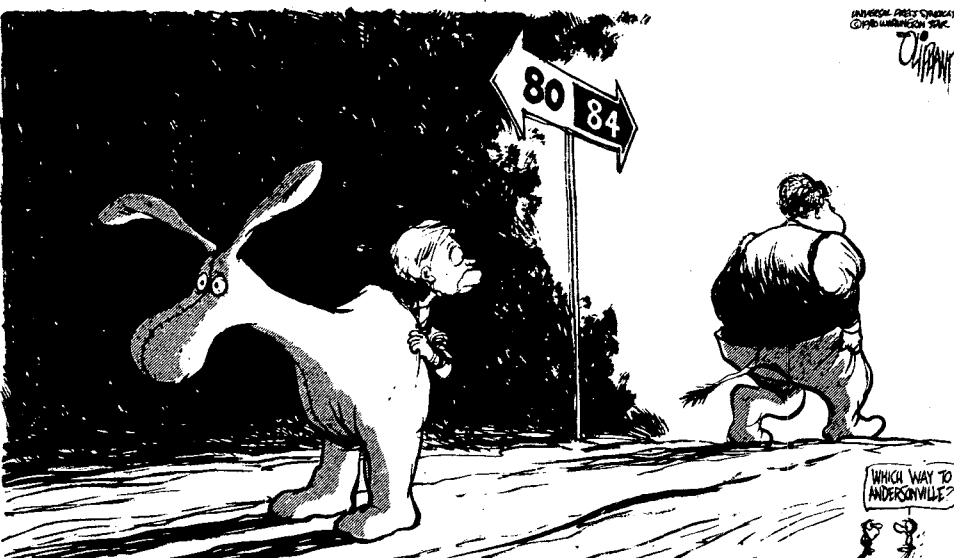
The original article mentioned that the Lavender Left (a network of lesbian and gay socialists) aims among other things to challenge heterosexism on the left. Heterosexism at *In These Times* has taken the form of running features on the lesbian and gay liberation movement when we are forced to riot or when 100,000 of us march on Washington. Attention is paid when we are impossible to ignore, and so our everyday work and struggle gets liquidated.

A conference in which NAM decides whether or not to merge with DSOC is likely to be considered newsworthy by this "independent socialist newspaper," and I'd suggest that it's also newsworthy when lesbian and gay socialists organize. I was granted 300 words to cover the first Lavender Left conference, but these words dropped into the void "because we [*ITT*] had other features to run." Philadelphia Lavender Left wrote a collective protest suggesting that the next pile of features include an article on the state and direction of the lesbian and gay movement. That protest remains unprinted as yet.

In the same issue in which my gutted piece was run, a feature-length article by Kate Ellis was printed. Ellis expresses the conviction that "if they're not free, I'm not free." That's good, and maybe more straight readers will agree and act on that conviction. Ellis mentions me several times as a gay man with whom she has discussed sexuality and social control. Also as "the man who was planning to cover the march for this paper," an illusion we both shared. Straight talk, even at its best, should not be used to substitute for, and thus silence, the voices of lesbians and gay men. We welcome straight folks to struggle against heterosexism, and *ITT* can begin doing so by allowing more lesbians and gay men to speak for themselves.

—Scott Tucker
Philadelphia Lavender Left
Philadelphia

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



KATE ELLIS

Feminism makes its mark at the convention

A FRIEND OF MINE HAS A story about the Democratic Convention that sums up my experience there pretty well. On the second day of the program the "human needs" section of the platform was debated, including two minority planks, one on the ERA and one on abortion. For months, women platform committee members had worked with members of NOW, NA-



RAL, the National Women's Political Caucus and Bella Abzug's Women USA to strengthen the language of the majority planks and to draft the more radical minority ones withholding party funds from opponents of the ERA and opposing the Hyde amendment.

On the day their planks were to come up, these women (gathered together in the ad hoc Coalition for Women's Rights) held a press conference that my friend attended. All the feminist luminaries were there: Abzug, Eleanor Smeal from NOW, Iris Mitgang and Millie Jeffry from NWPC, Carol Bellamy, New York's City Council president (Gloria Steinem and Ruth Messinger were at the Democratic Agenda rally). They spoke with excitement of the impact of the "equal division" rule (mandating women to be 50 percent of each delegation) and explained their planks to the press.

At one point one of the speakers thanked these folks for finally realizing that "women's issues" were real news. My friend turned around and looked at the array of media people lined up across the back of the room. Not one had his or her camera turned on. So much for feminism as "real news."

I didn't have a press pass to the convention floor, so what I got to see was what the media let me see. The Sunday before the convention opened, the Coalition for Women's Rights and NOW held open meetings, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. So I spent the whole day hearing about how the ERA needed to have teeth in it, how 13 of the 15 state legislatures in unratified states were controlled by the Democrats, how token support of the ERA was meaningless.

The feminists (and that word was used a lot, with no apology: I didn't hear the expression "women's lib" once) were also supporting an "open" convention. They hadn't just been enfranchised, they said, just to give over their power to another part of the male political hierarchy. Some women thought plank No. 10 (the ERA plank) was "too negative," but Eleanor Smeal argued that anything short of the strongest language would be the real negative position because it would leave things just as they are. Carol Bellamy said that the women delegates were giving new life to the party, and as I sat in a room full of women of all ages and backgrounds I felt she was right.

Because of this, I awaited with mounting eagerness the floor debate on the two feminist planks, 10 and 11, when these women would tell the world that women were as vital to the economy as men, and that reproductive freedom was a right that could not be abridged by poverty.

I ate a quick lunch and rushed up to the suite of the Democratic Agenda. No one was watching TV, and I was told it would make too much noise. Dismayed and astounded, I went down to the main floor of the Statler, where a sign told me that I could watch the proceedings in the Garden from 5:00 p.m. on. But the debate was probably going on that very minute! Nothing to do but rush home and turn on my own fluttering set, only

to encounter *As the World Turns* and some afternoon movies and game shows. Even Pacifica radio was playing jazz.

I confess to having been, perhaps, abnormally fixated on these two issues. I experienced something of a conversion to Kennedy during his extraordinary speech later that evening. Quote me some Tennyson and you can get me to do almost anything. But up to then I had lots of reservations about him. As a feminist, I think personal morality is important, for people in public life as for anyone else. I'm talking not about a particular morality but about taking such things seriously. Consequently, nothing that was going on at the convention was more important to me than those two minority planks.

It never occurred to me, therefore, that our major networks would withhold from me the experience of seeing the issues I most care about projected live into the living rooms of the nation. I watched local and national news from five to eight and the victories I felt to be so vital to the political climate of the coming months were barely mentioned. At 11 p.m. there was a little more. I got to see Bella answer a few reporters' questions. But it was only a brief diversion, a mere backdrop to the elaborate dance by which two heavily antlered stags advanced toward each other from opposite corners of an undulating blue, green and white political playing field.

The next morning I leafed through the *Times* and finally found, on page 3 of the second section, what I was looking for. The *Daily News* had more specifics: the anti-Hyde plank (which also opposes involuntary sterilization) had passed 2005.2 to 965.3. But where was my jubilation? The second-page summary of convention news in the *Times* mentioned



Feminist delegates and leaders at the Democratic convention won significant platform planks and made their presence felt, even if the media largely ignored them.

the ERA plank but nothing about abortion. Then on the following day the entire platform appeared in the *Times*, including the majority plank on abortion (which supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision and opposes a constitutional amendment to alter that decision) but omitting altogether the anti-Hyde amendment.

I couldn't help thinking of a wonderful passage in Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* in which she observes that "the most transient visitor to this planet, who picked up this paper, could not fail to be aware, even from this scattered testimony, that England is under the rule of a patriarchy.... His was the power and the money and the influence. He was the proprietor of the paper and its editor and subeditor. He was the Foreign Secretary and the Judge. He was the cricke-

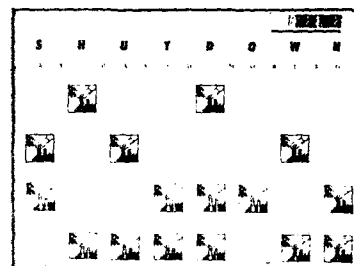
ter; he owned the racehorses and the yachts. He was the director of the company that pays two hundred percent to its shareholders.... With the exception of the fog, he seemed to control everything."

But we hardly need Virginia Woolf to return from the dead and tell us that feminism was not at the center of the 1980 Democratic Convention. What interested me was that it seemed, for a while, that it was. The women who worked prior to the convention and on the floor, who engineered victories for a strong ERA position and a socialist feminist position on abortion, did not "control everything." But in the first year of the 50-50 rule feminism was very much there, even if the news media were not sufficiently hip to what was happening to turn their cameras on.

IN THESE TIMES

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Evita: The Woman with the Whip

By Mary Main
Dodd, Mead & Co., 288pp.
\$8.95

The Return of Eva Peron, with the Killings in Trinidad

By V.S. Naipaul
Alfred A. Knopf, 228pp., \$10

Eva Peron: The Myths of a Woman

By J.M. Taylor
University of Chicago Press,
1980, 175pp., \$15

By Geoffrey Fox

The success of Tim Rice and Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical *Evita* (*In These Times*, April 9) has brought Eva Peron back to our attention, 28 years after her death, and alerted publishers to a potential *Evita* market. In close succession, Mary Main's 1952 polemic has been reissued; V.S. Naipaul's collection of essays on Trinidad, Argentina, Uruguay, Zaire and Joseph Conrad has appeared with Eva in the title; and J.M. Taylor's deadly serious anthropological study has been rushed into print before, one thinks, it was quite ready.

Who was this woman, and why should we care?

Eva Peron held no post in her husband's government. In fact, it was only in the last year of her life—and largely through her efforts—that Argentine women even gained the right to vote. Yet Eva Peron at the height of her glory had enemies bitter as any *caudillo*. Without her, Juan Domingo Peron might have been just another dictator; in fact, he might not even have been that.

Mary Main has shown how she gained effective control over the Ministry of Communications, the Department of Public Health and Sanitation, the Ministry of Education and, most importantly, the Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare, besides creating and controlling the immensely popular Eva Peron Foundation—a kind of semi-official ministry in itself. Like a character from a Brecht opera, she used men's lust, their greed or their pride, as the situation and her rising status permitted, to gain her own ends. But what makes this character so fascinating is that she sincerely identified her ends with the needs of the working masses.

Sincere fanaticism.

When she deliberately humiliated the oligarchy (at one point ordering their daughters incarcerated with prostitutes), flaunted her sumptuous wardrobe, or demanded that employers pay for one of her many social welfare programs, she was avenging her personal humiliations and the humiliations of an entire class—the *descamisados*, the *cabecitas negras*, the humblest women and men of the country. Her methods were arbitrary and paternalistic, and her unreflective rage led her to excesses that often did the workers more harm than good—she did not tolerate reformers whom she could not control—but this was all part and parcel of her sincere fanaticism.

Main, an Argentine citizen writing while Eva still lived, produced a passionate, chaotic and forceful indictment that remains an important testimony of the period. It is valuable for its information and first-hand observations—her visits to Eva's "Children's City," the Home for Transient Women and the

the author's sensitivity to the sexual and class injustices that made Eva both angry and effective.

V.S. Naipaul's book is less about Eva than about the psychology of what Albert Memmi, the Tunisian-Jewish essayist, calls "the colonized"—the person who has lost (or rejected) his own "Third World" culture without fully assimilating the culture of the more developed "colonizer" (North American or European). A Trinidadian whose ancestors had come from India, Naipaul went to England, he tells us, to "make a romantic career for myself as a writer."

ARGENTINA

The nearest Naipaul gets to a historical interpretation of Argentina's "inexplicable drift" to underdevelopment is his view that "Argentina is a simple materialist society, a simple colonial society created in the most rapacious and decadent phase of imperialism." New Zealand, he says, has done better because it was "founded at an earlier imperial period and on different principles," which is why "more gifted men and women have come from its population of three million than from the 23 millions of Argentines." Now in fact, the

first European settlement in New Zealand was not established until 1840, 260 years after Buenos Aires, and the final defeat of the Maoris (1870) occurred not long before that of the Argentine Indians (1878-79), so his curious hypothesis is without merit. And by what standard does one presume to compare the "giftedness" of two peoples?

Naipaul is no more reliable on Eva Peron, whom he depicts as a "saint" worshipped by the superstitious descendants of Italian and Spanish peasant immigrants to Argentina. In a few quick paragraphs, he brings together the

best-known themes: "Her commonness, her beauty, her success: they contribute to her sainthood. And her sexiness." And then the strange peregrinations of her corpse, which indicated that somebody—apparently the army, which ruled after Peron's ouster in 1955—was superstitious about her.

Naipaul writes beautifully. But what is he saying? On the subject of Eva Peron (as on many other things), he simply repeats in his own idiom the prevailing interpretation of the local intelligentsia.

Memory and myth.

Unfortunately J.M. Taylor did not write the book she set out to. "Armed with anthropology's literature on myth and its methods of field work," she tells us, she moved in with a Peronist working-class family in 1970 "and waited to participate in its community life and to identify and observe the myth of Eva and its part in this life." She waited in vain; the working-class Peronist family and their friends did not subscribe to the myth that she was supposed to document. Thus she discovered the myth of the myth, that is, the Argentine middle class' misperception that the workers worshipped Eva as a saint.

The Peronist workers "discussed her [Evita] in realistic terms. Almost everyone had received or known someone who had received some personal aid from her—a sewing machine, a bed, some medicine, money on which to marry. She had advocated such-and-such a law," etc., but no miracles. "In fact belief in the mystic content and the working-class locus of the myth of Eva Peron were parts of the myth itself: another social sector had generated this version about the working classes and their mystical attraction to Eva Peron."

Now Taylor did an extraordinary thing. Instead of abandoning her inappropriate intellectual weaponry and finding out how the working class really thinks, she abandoned the working class. She moved out of the proletarian apartment and into a middle-class home, having decided that the middle class (never satisfactorily defined, but they are between the workers and the oligarchy) were the true generators of the myth.

The remainder of the book is a ponderous classification of pro- and anti-Eva myths culled from the press and from conversations with "middle-class" Argentines. Since these myths are generally accessible (after all, it is the middle classes that dominate the press and film industry), few readers will be startled to learn that there are myths of Eva the good, Eva the bad (especially sexually bad, even literally castrating) and Eva the revolutionary; she is a repository for all manner of middle-class male paranoid fantasies.

Taylor's work confirms what Mary Main saw 28 years ago: Eva Peron's assault on class and sex privilege has made it impossible for the society that has not resolved these issues to ignore them, or her. And it is that assault, rather than her authoritarian paternalism toward the *descamisados*, that remains the source of her appeal in Argentina and abroad.

Geoffrey Fox, a sociologist, is the author of *Working-Class Emigres from Cuba* (R&E Research Publications, 1979) and co-author of the *Report of the Chicago Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Human Rights in Chile* (1974).

The many faces of Eva

INPRINT

Eva's assault on class and sex privilege made it impossible for a society that has not resolved these issues to ignore them—or her. So the myths were born: Eva the good, Eva the bad, Eva the revolutionary.

Hostel for Working Girls are particularly interesting—but also for Nevertheless, he could not "detach" himself from the "half-made societies that seemed doomed to remain half-made." The heathens of these societies, he tells us over and over in different ways, are not to be enlightened. They just graft Western technology and symbols to their native superstitions, and the result is all-around corruption, "the moral degradation of the idea" (Conrad, as quoted by Naipaul).

Great men are hard to find in these lands (Naipaul never inquires for great women). Argentina, he tells us at least four times, has produced none, Trinidadian blacks appear as simple-minded poseurs incapable even of effective rebellion and Zairis are content to be ruled by a ridiculous "king." The elites are bad enough, but if the masses should really take power we would see another Haiti (a recurrent Naipaulian nightmare).

Short Notice



Tell the American People: Perspectives on the Iranian Revolution

Edited by David H. Albert
Movement for a New Society
(4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143), \$3.80
The 16 essays and documents that comprise this collection vary greatly in quality and perspective. In the best of the written contributions, Egbal Ahmad sets the Iranian revolution in a

long history of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and Michael Klare clarifies the role of the U.S. in arming the Shah. Randy Goodman's sensitive photographic essay "Mirror of Iran" highlights the volume, which stands as a useful antidote to anti-Iranian reporting in the mass media but which tends to homogenize and idealize the revolutionary forces in Iran.

DRR

Every Heart Beats True: Christian Perspectives on the Military Service, a slide show Packard Manse Media Project, Rent: AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617)661-6130, \$5-\$15. Buy: PMMP, Box 450, Staughton, MA 02072, (617)344-3259, \$53

This slide show raises the question of conscientious objection to the draft for young Christians. Producer Pat Hughes begins with a brief historical overview of the Christian tradition of conscientious objection. It is emphasized that everyone must make decisions about war and peace. Draft resistance is portrayed as one way of making the decision for peace. Two theological perspectives supportive to draft resistance are presented: The Christian pacifist position and the Just War theory. The slide show argues that the modern nuclear arms race makes the justification traditionally given to support Christians' participation in the military service irrelevant in the 1980s. Finally, resources useful to making a decision about registration for the draft are recommended. This slide show is most appropriate for use in Catholic high schools and Christian youth groups. PS

Stopping Sexual Harassment: A Handbook

By Elissa Clarke, Labor Education and Research Project (P.O. Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220), \$2.50

This concise pamphlet establishes the gravity of the problem of sexual harassment against working women and outlines personal, political and legal strategies



The debtor-farmers of Shay's rebellion were thinking militants.

for combatting harassment. Drawing together the experiences of women in a variety of workplaces, in offices, factories, universities and at construction sites, union and non-union, Clarke writes with simplicity, humor and an appreciation of the varied constraints that shape the protests of women workers. Of special value are the table of laws regarding sexual harassment and the repeated advice to organized women that remedies for harassment by fellow workers should be militantly pursued within the union. DRR

Shay's Rebellion: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection

By David P. Szatmary, University of Massachusetts Press, 184 pp., \$14

This spare and elegant volume deserves to sweep the historical profession's prizes in regional

studies, rural history and early American life. Reevaluating the insurrection of New England debtor-farmers of the mid-1780s, Szatmary places the radicalization and defeat of the insurgents in a context of class and cultural struggle between the "peasant" back country and the emerging urban centers of merchant capitalist power. The Shaysites appear not just as defenders of paper money and their own economic interests, but as thinking militants defending a traditional style of life against the incursions of the world of the market. The text moves gracefully between textured descriptions of New England life and wise reflections on larger issues, including the impact of the Shaysites on the drafting of the United States Constitution. DRR
Contributors: David Roediger and Paul Shannon

RADIATION

Finally, GI victims of radiation can know the truth

Atomic Soldiers

By Howard L. Rosenberg.
Introduced by Jack Anderson
Beacon Press, \$11.95 cloth

By Harvey Wasserman

Even in the darkest days of the mid-'50s, most Americans knew the military was blowing off atomic bombs in the Nevada desert and the South Pacific. It all seemed a normal part of the Cold War. What most Americans didn't know was that the military not only wanted to see how the bombs worked (though I've never heard a complete explanation for why they thought they had to explode so many), but they also wanted to see how human soldiers would react under nuclear conditions.

To test that little problem, the brass ordered some 30,000 GIs to stand at close range while nuke after nuke showered them with radioactive poison. Even worse, thousands of the soldiers were then ordered to march through the detonation areas—including many a Ground Zero—within hours or even minutes after the blasts. If such insanity can be dignified by a rational theory, it is that the military wanted to see if our soldiers would follow through once a nuke had blasted a hole in enemy lines.

Not surprisingly, the exposure levels were not at all democratic. You didn't catch any generals walking through the hot spots. During one underwater test—Operation Wigwam, which sent radioactive mist soaring into the

atmosphere upwind of San Diego—the officers rode a boat that was bathed in a cleansing shower while the enlisted sailors occupied vessels that were open and unprotected.

Atomic Soldiers opens the door on this horrifying scandal. Written by Howard Rosenberg, a top staffer for muckraker Jack Anderson (who provides an introduction), the fast-paced, well-written narrative serves as a good introduction to a story that could prove one of the most explosive of the new decade.

It starts with the story of Russell Jack Dann, a tough, high-spirited GI who, during the Eisenhower years, found himself inhaling a heavy dose of fallout at Camp Desert Rock, Nev. By 1960, Dann—now out of the Army and living in Albert Lea, Minn.—began suffering dizzy spells. His hair and teeth began falling out and in 1962 he discovered he was sterile.

But it wasn't until 15 tortured years later that Dann found other GIs suffering from similar problems, and began to put two and two together. And as Rosenberg's extensive documentation shows, by the time a full investigation comes in, we may well be looking at a toll of death and injuries in the tens of thousands.

Stonewall.

Through it all, the government has maintained a stonewall, refusing to release the names of the GIs involved in the tests, and continuing to deny the victims their basic medical benefits. As we're now seeing with the Vietnam victims of Agent Orange

poisoning, this kind of behavior is par for the official course. Indeed in one devastating chapter Rosenberg documents a sickening history of vicious, cynical manipulations of the military and the Atomic Energy Commission in suppressing study after study that proved beyond a reasonable doubt that they were engaging in what Dr. John Gofman now terms "intentional murder."

Why they did it, and how we can stop a continuation of this insanity in nuclear testing, weapons production and atomic power construction, may be the key to our survival over the next few years. In opening the door to the story of thousands of patriotic middle-American GIs who sacrificed their health unnecessarily to official cynicism and malice, Rosenberg has helped light the fuse on some very potent political dynamite. If nothing else, he has made it much more difficult for the government to continue avoiding a question posed in a letter (quoted in *Atomic Soldiers*) from Helen Dodd of Lexington, Ky., to then-President Eisenhower.

"If the men running this experiment say there is no danger," she asked, "then why do they build such elaborate shelters for themselves, farther away from the explosion area than the troops, which have no protection?"

Harvey Wasserman is author of *Energy War: Reports from the Front (Lawrence Hill)* and is currently at work on a new book about radiation victims.





PIG EARTH

The New Novel by John Berger

Lessons of life in a mountain village.

By Pat Aufderheide

Pig Earth, a collection of stories and poems on peasant life in a French village today, is a disquieting anthology, and it means to be. It is the view from inside a peasant's world, by a visitor.

John Berger, art critic, novelist, screenplay writer, essayist (*In These Times*, May 21 and 28), wrote *Pig Earth* during his stay in a French village between 1974 and 1978. Like his other fiction, *Pig Earth* uses imaginative literature to describe a culture, an era, its conditions and social relations subjectively. It is didactic, but not in the sense of pulling us toward a prefabricated truth. Rather it is an attempt to show us another way of approaching the world.

The language of the stories is deceptively simple and cool. It

also has no gruffness, and none of the thick humor associated with peasants. This is not a peasant's voice, but that of a translator, introducing us by stages into the pace, the cost, the meaning of daily life in that tiny world. Berger writes in the introduction, "The life of the village is also a living portrait of itself: a communal portrait.... Every village's portrait of itself is constructed not out of stone, but out of words, spoken and remembered: out of opinions, stories, eye-witness reports, legends, comments and hearsay." We are eavesdroppers in the French mountains.

Distance.

The stories describe not only another way of living, but they also, by virtue of the narrator's distance, communicate strangeness. Their observations remind us how much we don't know about that world. This is deliberate. You can contrast *Pig Earth*'s insights with those of E. LeRoy Ladurie's *Montaillou*. There, a 14th century French mountain village is detailed (using Inquisition records for evidence) with a vivid photographic clarity, until we feel we would recognize some of these characters if we met them on the street. But Berger wants to establish not only the reality of their world, but the peculiarity of our relationship to it.

The stories become, as he notes in the introduction, progressively more subjective, tracking his deepening understanding and also heightening our sense of intrusion. The first story, about a peasant with his calf, could be a still life. We move on to vignettes—for instance, an aged widow, her brother and friend search, almost in vain, for a well. Friendship triumphs over fate.

We move into family history and then into a story that exemplifies modern tensions for the peasant family. In it, among other things, a son brings home a tractor. "Their job is to wipe us out," his father says flatly. This feisty father then goes on to kidnap a couple of inspectors who have taxed him too sharply. "There is a tax to pay on worry!" he shouts at them while they are locked up, baffled. "There's also a tax to pay on pain and a tax on shivering. A thousand francs a shiver! You say you both shivered all night? If only one of you had stayed warm, it would have saved you money!"

The collection ends with a fantastic tale of the lonely life and haunting death of a tough, cranky country woman. We have moved from the snapshot to the family album to the kitchen table crisis-conference to the late night ghost story and reminiscence.

Along the way we can shed

some romantic notions about rural life (reminded, perhaps, of Raymond Williams' analysis of how a bourgeois ideal of rural life was created, in *The Country and the City*) and we gain a glimpse of the way our own assumptions about daily life and personal relationships are culturally defined.

The choice to live with and write about peasants was not, of course, an accidental road into cultural relativity for Berger. As he said in his recent *In These Times* interview, "Peasants still make up the majority of the people in the world, and Marxism has failed to understand the peasant experience." In an historical afterward to these stories, he explains further why he finds forking hay in a back hill village more than an "alternative lifestyle" for the writer with alternatives. This afterward is excerpted here. ■

Progress threatens culture of survival.

By John Berger

Peasant life is a life committed completely to survival. Perhaps this is the only characteristic fully shared by peasants everywhere. For a century and a half now the tenacious ability of peasants to survive has confounded administrators and theorists. Today it can still be said that the majority in the world are peasants. Yet this fact masks a more significant one. For the first time ever it is possible that the class of survivors may not survive.

Until recently, the peasant economy was always an economy within an economy. This is what has enabled it to survive global transformations of the larger economy—feudal, capitalist, even socialist. Unlike any other working and exploited class, the peasantry has always supported itself and this made it, to some degree, a class apart. In so far as it produced the necessary surplus, it was integrated into the historical economic-cultural system. In so far as it supported itself, it was on the frontier of that system.

It would be wrong to suppose that all this constituted an independent culture. Peasant life did not stay exactly the same throughout the centuries, but the priorities and values of peasants (their strategy for survival) were embedded in a tradition that outlasted any tradition in the rest of society. The undeclared relation of this peasant tradition, at any given moment, to the dominant class culture was often heretical and subversive. "Don't run away from anything," says the Russian peasant proverb, "but don't do anything." The peasant's universal reputation for cunning is a recognition of this secretive and subversive tendency.

No class has been or is more economically conscious than the peasantry. But his economics are not those of the merchant, nor those of bourgeois or Marxist political economy. The man who wrote with most understanding about lived peasant

economics was the Russian agronomist Chayanov. Anyone who wishes to understand the peasant should, among other things, go back to Chayanov. [A.V. Chayanov wrote *The Theory of Peasant Economy*, D. Thorner, ed., Irwin, 1966. He argued that capitalist economic rules did not apply to peasant production, where wages were not earned and production was for the domestic unit. He noted that typically the greater the working capacity of the peasant household, the less its members work. An interesting discussion of Chayanov's work is contained in Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics*. —Ed.]

The peasant did not conceive of what was extracted from him as a surplus. To the peasant, his enforced social obligations assumed the form of a *preliminary obstacle*. The obstacle was often insurmountable. But it was on the other side of it that the other half of the peasant economy operated, whereby his family worked the land to assure its own needs.

A once-just world.

To say that peasants are a class of survivors may seem to confirm what the cities with their habitual arrogance have always said about peasants—that they are backward, a relic of the past. Peasants themselves, however, do not share the view of time implicit in such a judgement.

Inexhaustibly committed to wresting a life from the earth, bound to the present of endless work, the peasant nevertheless sees life as an interlude, because of the dual contrary movement through time of his thoughts and feelings, which in turn derives from the dual nature of the peasant economy. His dream is to return to a life that is not handicapped. His determination is to hand on the means of survival (if possible made more secure, compared to what he inherited) to his children. His ideals are located in the past; his obligations are to the future, which he himself will not live to see. After his death he will not be transported into the future—his notion of immortality is different: he will return to the past.

Peasants work on the land to produce food to feed themselves. Yet they are forced to feed others first, often at the price of going hungry themselves. Such an injustice, the peasant reasons, cannot always have existed, so he assumes a just world at the beginning. All spontaneous peasant revolts have had the aim of resurrecting a just and egalitarian peasant society.

This dream is not the usual version of the dream of paradise. In the peasant's dream, work is still necessary. Work is the condition for equality. Both the bourgeois and Marxist ideals of equality presume a world of plenty; they demand equal rights for all before a cornucopia, a cornucopia to be constructed by science and the advancement of knowledge. What the two understand by equal rights is of course very different.

Opposing the movement of the peasant's thoughts and feelings about a justice in the past are other thoughts and feelings directed toward the survival of his children in the future. The interlude of the present cannot be judged in its own terms; morally it is judged in relation to the past, materially it is judged in relation to the future. Strictly speaking, nobody is less opportunist (taking the immediate opportunity regardless) than the peasant.

They envisage the future, to which they are forced to pledge their actions, as a series of ambushes. Ambushes of risks and dangers. The most likely future risk, until recently, was hunger. The only, but great, future hope is survival. This is why the dead do better to return to the past where they are no longer subject to risk.

Progress.

The peasant view of human destiny was not, until the advent of modern history, essentially dif-

ferent from the view of other classes. One has only to think of the poems of Chaucer, Villon, Dante. In all of them Death, whom nobody can escape, is the surrogate for a generalized sense of uncertainty and menace in face of the future. Modern history begins—at different moments in different places—with the principle of progress as both the aim and motor of history. This principle was born with the bourgeoisie as an ascendant class, and has been taken over by all modern theories of revolution. The 20th-century struggle between capitalism and socialism, is, at an ideological level, a fight about the content of progress.

Bourgeois and Marxist ideals of equality envisage a world of plenty—equality before the cornucopia created by science and knowledge. In the peasant's vision of paradise work is the condition for equality.

Cultures of progress envisage future expansion. They are forward-looking because the future offers ever larger hopes. At their most heroic these hopes dwarf Death (*La Rivoluzione o la Morte!*). At their most trivial they ignore it (consumerism).

A culture of survival envisages the future as a sequence of repeated acts for survival. Each act pushes a thread through the eye of a needle and the thread is tradition. No overall increase is envisaged.

If now, comparing the two types of culture, we consider their view of the past as well as the future, we see that they are mirror opposites of one another.

Conservative?

This may help to explain why an experience within a culture of survival can have the opposite significance to the comparable experience within a culture of progress. Let us take, as a key example, the much proclaimed conservatism of the peasantry, their resistance to change—the complex of attitudes and reactions that often (not invariably) allows a peasantry to be counted as a force for the right wing.

When a peasant resists the introduction of a new technique or method of working, it is not because he cannot see its possible advantages—his conservatism is neither blind nor lazy—but because he believes that these advantages cannot, by the nature of things, be guaranteed, and that, should they fail, he will then be cut off alone and isolated from the routine of survival.

Peasant conservatism, within the context of peasant experience, has nothing in common with the conservatism of a privileged ruling class or the conservatism of a sycophantic petty-bourgeoisie. The first is an at-

tempt, however vain, to make their privileges absolute; the second is a way of siding with the powerful in exchange for a little delegated power over other classes. Peasant conservatism scarcely defends any privilege. Which is one reason why, much to the surprise of urban political and social theorists, small peasants have so often rallied to the defense of richer peasants. It is a conservatism not of power but of meaning. It represents a depository (a granary) of meaning preserved from lives and genera-

the globe is eliminating the peasant.

During the same period of the last 20 years, in other parts of the Third World—China, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Algeria—revolutions have been made by peasants, and in their name. It is too soon to know what kind of transformation of the peasant experience these revolutions will achieve, and how far their governments can or cannot maintain a different set of priorities to those imposed by the world market of capitalism.

and unexpected urgency. It is not only the future of peasants that is now involved in this continuity. The forces that in most parts of the world are today eliminating or destroying the peasantry represent the contradiction of most of the hopes once contained in the principle of historical progress.

Productivity is not reducing scarcity. The dissemination of knowledge is not leading unequivocally to greater democracy. The advent of leisure—in the industrialized societies—has not brought personal fulfillment but greater mass manipulation. The economic and military unification of the world has not brought peace but genocide. The peasant suspicion of "progress," as it has finally been imposed by the global history of corporate capitalism and by the power of this history even over those seeking an alternative to it, is not altogether misplaced or groundless.

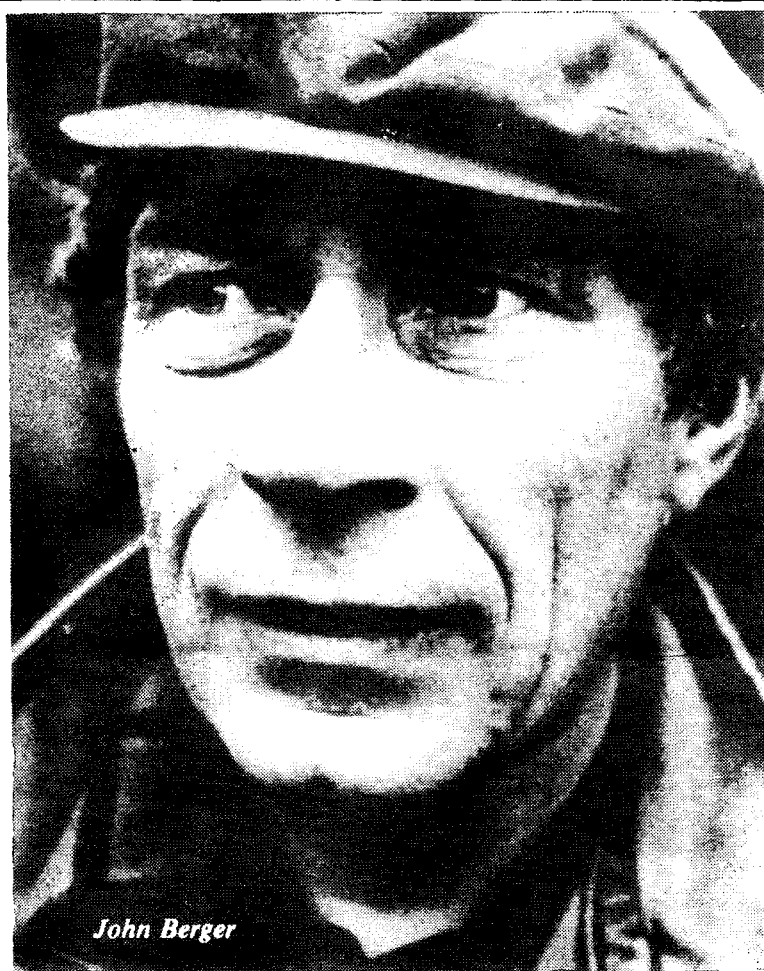
Such a suspicion cannot in itself form the basis for an alternative political development. The precondition for such an alternative is that peasants should achieve a world view of themselves as a class, and this implies—not their elimination—but their achieving power as a class: a power that, in being achieved, would transform their class experience and character.

Meanwhile, if one looks at the likely future course of world history, envisaging either the further extension and consolidation of corporate capitalism in all its brutality, or a prolonged, uneven struggle waged against it, a struggle whose victory is not certain, the peasant experience of survival may better be adapted to this long and harsh perspective than the continually reformed, disappointed, impatient progressive hope of an ultimate victory.

Finally, there is the historic role of capitalism itself, a role unforeseen by Adam Smith or Marx. Its historic role is to destroy history, to sever every link with the past and to orient all effort and imagination to that which is about to occur. Capital can only exist as such if it continually reproduces itself; its present reality is dependent upon its future fulfillment. This is the metaphysics of capital.

Henry Ford's remark that "History is bunk" has generally been underestimated; he knew exactly what he was saying. Destroying the peasantries of the world could be a final act of historical elimination.

Reprinted by special arrangement from John Berger, "Historical Afterword," *Pig Earth*, Pantheon, 1980.



John Berger

tions threatened by continual and inexorable change.

Many other peasant attitudes are frequently misunderstood or understood in an exactly opposite sense. For example, peasants are thought to be money-minded, whereas, in fact, the behavior that gives rise to this idea derives from a profound suspicion of money. Peasants are said to be unforgiving, yet this trait, in so far as it is true, is the result of the belief that life without justice becomes meaningless. It is rare for any peasant to die unforgiven.

The disappearing peasant.

Engels and most early 20th-century Marxists foresaw the disappearance of the peasant in face of the greater profitability of capitalist agriculture. Such prophecies underestimated the resilience of the peasant economy and overestimated the attraction of agriculture for capital. The peasant has survived far longer than was predicted.

But within the last 20 years monopoly capital, though its multinational corporations, has created the new highly-profitable structure of agribusiness whereby it controls, not necessarily the production, but the market for agricultural inputs and outputs and the processing, packaging and selling of every kind of food-stuff. The penetration of this market into all corners of

Anybody can reasonably argue for the preservation and maintenance of the traditional peasant way of life. To do so is to argue that peasants should continue to be exploited, and that they should lead lives in which the burden of physical work is often devastating and always oppressive.

Yet the remarkable continuity of peasant experience and the peasant view of the world acquires, as it is threatened with extinction, an unprecedented

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Health

Continued from page 14.

aster." Roaches infest wards and, along with mice, populate bureau drawers; clean sheets and pajamas are often unavailable; dirt is omnipresent and ventilation is poor. In contrast, Cuban hospital wards are open and have outside verandas that afford good air circulation. And they are clean. Also, relations between patients and doctors and nurses appear warm and affectionate.

Before the revolution, Cuba had approximately 6,300 doctors and 6 million people. The ratio of one per 1,000 was then high for an underdeveloped country, but in the U.S. today it is only about one per 975 in the U.S. overall and one per 1,200 in Mississippi, according to Santana. Cuban doctors were concentrated before the revolution in the major urban areas, most in Havana. Many areas had no doctors or medical institutions. The revolution caused nearly half the doctors to flee, but with the aid of the USSR and Eastern Europe, Cuba rapidly trained a new generation of doctors. Today there are 14,000 for 10 million people. About 1,300 Cuban doctors serve medical missions in 24 underdeveloped countries, leaving one doctor for some 800 people in Cuba.

Santana reported that in remote areas she found no home located more than an hour from medical facilities. In contrast, before the revolution, peasants in some mountain areas were 24 hours away from any medical aid. Now there are also 115 free dental clinics in the country; before the revolution, there were none.

Cubans tend to use antibiotics too freely, Mendoza believes, thereby promoting bacterial resistance. She also criticized the medical profession's tendency, common outside of the U.S., to view cancer as a "taboo word" and not to tell patients frankly when they have it.

Havana's Psychiatric Hospital has gained a good reputation for its treatment methods. Mendoza and Santana described how patients work the hospital farms and receive worker's pay. They help produce much of the poultry and some of the vegetables consumed in the institution and eggs in sufficient quantity for sale outside the hospital. Patients also have baseball teams and various cultural groups. Unlike many U.S. patients, they are not kept under heavy sedation.

Treatment of patients there is indicative of the treatment of medical patients on the whole in Cuba and is characterized by great care and respect.

Max Gordon is a former editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Home

Continued from page 14.

side houses of the emigrants. "People seemed to take the departures for granted," said a first-timer, "Beatrice." (She preferred an alias—like many young Cubans, she fears the Cuban right-wingers in the U.S. who like to portray the Brigade as a group of wild-eyed radicals.) "They knew who on their block was likely to leave. They weren't seen as counter-revolutionaries—just as opportunists.

"Like my father was in 1961—he worked for a U.S. insurance company, and when the revolution came he could get a job in Puerto Rico with the same company. It was better for his family, so he left. But he knows the revolution made it better for many people there."

The *Brigadistas'* families were curious about the emigrants' American reception, and some had a personal interest. Nereyda Garcia's grandmother and aunt had not seen her mother since she had left Cuba with Nereyda years ago. They were considering leaving through Mariel.

"They were full of questions, and I was somewhat apprehensive," said Nereyda, a *Brigada* member who first returned in 1979. "Just before leaving, I saw that they had decided to fix up their

house. They had decided to stay; they said they couldn't risk everything to start all over again.

"But my grandmother felt many people who left were leaving for the same reason she thought of it—to reunite with their families."

The *Brigadistas* also found Cubans, officials in conference as much as relatives at kitchen tables, fully aware of the privations that could lead someone to want to emigrate to the U.S. They were also eager to talk about ways they were working around the limitations of poverty, especially through the *Campania de Exigencia*. This "campaign of watchfulness" calls for critical re-examination of procedures in production and administration, looking for not only more efficiency but a better meeting of individual needs.

For the first-timers, the trip was as full of emotional discovery as it was of economic insights.

"I went to see my family's house," said Beatrice. "The yard was so small, and I remembered it as being so big!"

"But what most surprised me about Cuba was the normality. I don't know why, but I was expecting to see people looking serious, and more like guerrillas—you know, the men with beards. But people just looked like people on the street anywhere. I was surprised that women still pay so much attention to fixing themselves up.

"There's no affluence there, of course, although the streets of Old San Juan seem worse to me than in Havana. And the buses—I was expecting the worst. You know, the Cubans call the buses 'aspirins'—one every four hours. But I was surprised at how easy it was to get around. I could wait more for buses in Puerto Rico.

"Best of all, I discovered that I am Cuban. In Puerto Rico you try to pass in that society. And I can't stand the separate 'Cubanity' of the Miami community. But to go to Cuba and see—oh, even just the talking fast with Cuban gestures—to see those habits in context! It was normal there."

One of the most poignant of the emigration stories for the *Brigadistas* was that of the youngsters reluctantly leaving with their parents from Mariel harbor, clutching their "Young Pioneer" kerchiefs, the emblems of their social organizations.

"Those kids," said a functionary to Nenita, "are your future recruits for the Antonio Maceo Brigade."

Slavery

Continued from page 10.

ing interest from conditions in the North Free Soil provided a platform on which both anti-slavery men and the labor movement could join hands.

Slavery became the dominant issue in the North in the 1850s through free-soilism, which provided common ground for the abolitionists' stress on the freedom of the individual, and the labor movement's insistence that both southern slavery and northern wage slavery be attacked.

In the hands of the Republican Party, which emerged as the dominant political force in the 1850s, the free soil version of anti-slavery laid its greatest stress on the differences between northern and southern conditions of labor. In Republican ideology, the hallmark of northern society was the opportunity for social mobility offered to the laborer. In the South, not only the slave, but non-slaveholding whites, were denied the opportunity to better their conditions. Wealth produced by the slave system flowed to a small aristocracy of slaveholders, while the great mass of southern blacks and whites remained impoverished. In the North, by contrast, the opportunity to rise from the condition of wage earner to that of independent artisan, farmer or entrepreneur not only defused class conflict, but spurred labor efficiency, which produced the impressive economic progress enjoyed by northern society.

No individual expressed what might be called the labor basis of anti-slavery more effectively than Abraham Lincoln.

His own life was an example of the opportunities for social mobility offered by northern society. From two fundamental premises of the labor movement—the dignity of labor and the right of the laborer to the full fruits of his or her work—Lincoln fashioned a devastating critique of slavery. Slavery, he said, was simply robbery—one person labored and another enjoyed the fruits. "I want every man to have the chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition," Lincoln declared. Speaking of a black woman, he added, "In some respects she is certainly not my equal, but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands without asking the leave of anyone else, she is my equal and the equal of all others."

Lincoln thus demanded for blacks freedom to compete in the marketplace, the right to take part in what he called "the race of life." He assumed that anyone, black or white, who worked diligently could achieve the cherished goal of economic independence.

Did northern labor support the Republican Party in the 1850s? Put this way, the question is impossible to answer, for northern labor, like other groups in northern society, was divided along lines of ethnicity, region and occupation. The most exploited segment of the working class—Irish immigrants in the urban centers of the East and the factory towns of New England—were solidly Democratic, for the Democratic Party provided essential services (jobs, housing, assistance with the law).

On the other hand, skilled urban workers, especially the native-born, rallied to the Republican banner. Artisans found in the Republican ideology an affirmation of their own position in northern society. The center of Republican support was in rural areas of the North. Yet here too, along with farmers, were the small shops of many northern craftsmen, who joined their agricultural neighbors to support Republicans. These men helped elect Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, and supported his resistance to compromise with the South in the secession crisis of 1860-61. On the issue of the expansion of slavery, northern laborers were inflexible, for to allow slavery to dominate the West

would cut off what for many was the main avenue of social advancement, for themselves and their children.

Workers rally to the Union.

Thus, the political movement against slavery enjoyed the support of many northern workers, while articulating their aspirations. When the South fired upon Fort Sumter, northern labor rallied to support the Union, along with virtually all other elements of northern society. But the Civil War represented both a triumph and a tragedy for northern labor. The goal of abolition was finally achieved—not through moral persuasion, favored by the abolitionists, but because of the exigencies of war and the efforts of the slaves themselves to escape their bondage. The ranks of the Union army were filled by the farmers and laborers of the North. At the same time, however, northern labor increasingly came to resent the manner in which the war effort was being organized.

Manufacturers and bond dealers made fortunes in government contracts, while inflation eroded the income of workers, and the government on occasion intervened with troops to break strikes it felt were injuring the war effort. Northern workers resented the draft law of 1863 that enabled men of wealth to buy their way out of the army. The result was a series of anti-draft riots, most notably the New York draft riots of July 1863, which turned from a protest against the draft into a savage attack on the city's black residents.

The war gave a tremendous boost to industrial expansion in the North, and laid the foundation for the social conflicts of the gilded age. If the first large group of American millionaires came out of the Civil War, so too did a revitalized labor movement, proud of its part in the overthrow of slavery, yet insisting that workers share in the fruits of the new industrial society. The idea of "wage slavery," which had been eclipsed in the 1850s, rose like a phoenix from the ashes of the Civil War to inspire the great crusades of the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations in the post-war years.

Eric Foner is the author of *Free Soil, Free Men and of Thomas Paine*.

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The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

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By J.W. Williamson

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN men and women in the workplace is a genuine struggle. And in the world of blue-collar work, women have been received by many of their male counterparts with a good deal less cordiality than the women in management were received by the guys in the corporate and insitutional boardrooms. In fact, women who are trying to earn a living by manual labor are encountering, in some instances, a hostility from the men that is—well—frightening.

I did not appreciate the dimensions or the meaning of that struggle until I attended the Second National Conference of Women Coal Miners in Beckley, W.Va., the last weekend in May. There were women miners there from at least 10 states—Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming—and most of them had tales to tell about sexual and psychological harassment and even physical abuse.

The men underground have been doing plenty, evidently, to run the women off, get them fired, make life miserable.

"I had to ride two miles out of a coal mine one night," said a woman called Smoky, "with this guy butt-ass naked and wagging that thang in my face. He said, 'Hey, honey, you ever seen one as good as that?' I said, 'Hell, I worked in a hospital for four years and I've seen better on dead men.'"

That broke the audience up. They had all dreamed of delivering that kind of *coup-de-grace*, wounding with words where fists and arms are no match.

We heard of men forcing themselves on young women too scared (or "just too stupid," as one of them commented) to stop them; of a novice miner who was taken to a cross-cut and given a "body search" for "contraband cigarettes" by two of her "supervisors"; of women finding their names written up on the walls of the dinner hole as being available for this or that sexual treat; of women pawed, poked, paddled, flattened against the coal-face, called every name in the book. And rumors of outright rape.

The psychological beating is sometimes just as bad. "They isolate you," a young woman from Kentucky said,

"make you feel like a troublemaker and that's all." A woman who feels stupid, left behind, resented by every pair of eyes she encounters, is a woman who will one day find it easy to say, "Why am I doing this?"

"Well, what do they expect?"—I heard a man comment—"to be greeted with flowers?"

They expect to be treated like anybody else who is willing to work hard for a living, who wants to provide for kids, make a comfortable home, keep food on the table, maybe even buy a couple of luxuries once in a while. "Why does a nice little girl like you want to go down into that dirty old mine?" "Because it's damn good money, that's why," we heard more than one woman miner say.

Coal mining may very well be the hardest, most dangerous work in this country. And the men who have done it for years have no illusions about their relative status in the American scheme of things. They have no status at all. And yet you can see their self-assertive bumper-stickers all over the coalfields of West Virginia and Tennessee and Kentucky: "Coal Miners Dig Their Work."

But here come the women—3,061 of them since 1973, according to the Coal Employment Project and Coal Mining Women's Support Team. As far as many of the men are concerned, they are in the mines today not because the women can do the work, but because another set of soft-handed s.o.b.s—namely the bleeding-heart bureaucrats in the Department of Justice and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, or *wherever*—have decreed that it should be so. From what we heard in Beckley, the men are not, by and large, accepting the women miners as fellow human beings united with them in the struggle to earn a decent living against the odds of the job itself and against the exploitation of the corporations. No, the men seem bent mainly on defining the women as contemptible competition.

Woman after woman testified in Beckley to being one of two things in the eyes of the men: "We're either pussies—helpless, weak, sissy, available—or whores—strong, aggressive, combative, looking for it. There isn't any in-between."

One of the ironies of this conference was that one of the UMW officials—a man, of course—who welcomed the

women to Beckley and to the union, lectured them on the necessity of retaining their femininity.

"Seems like when a woman goes into industry, she has to give up her femininity, but that's not right," he said. "Nobody asks a man to give up his manhood to go into the mines."

But it's giving up your manhood, apparently, to let the women come in there and do the same work. And how in the world is a woman to keep her "femininity"—whatever that may be in the context of the workplace—when the men she works with define her as either pussy or whore?

One 18-year-old woman told how she had lost her job after two men had held her down while a third put hickies all over her neck. "They did it to me, but I lost my job because they said I was shaking my tits and ass at the men."

From the back of the room another, older woman asked, "Well, *were* you shaking your tits and your ass?"

"There's no way to shake them when you're wearing all that clothing," the woman answered. Several others nodded their agreement. It's cold in the mines, and miners—of both sexes—wear two or three layers of flannel shirts, long-handled pants. Then there are the heavy socks and steel-toed boots, the miner's belt, the cap. "As a matter of fact," the 18-year-old said, "I don't know how they could even tell I was a girl."

Some of these women have a rage against men that surpasses mere anger. "Men are the biggest whores I know," said one. "Most of them will drop their pants for anyone, anywhere, anytime." But there is also a searing contempt for those women who do go to work in halter tops and wear their jeans two sizes too small.

"There are women who are going into those mines just to find a husband or have an affair," a woman said, and the fire in her eyes said what she thought of that. "That's part of our problem," she added. And, apparently, there are women getting hired on for a few months and then quitting as soon as they have enough money together to buy a car or get a stake in something else.

"You can understand that," a young woman miner from Maryland told me. She had been in the mines with women whose temporariness was worn like a

placard. "One woman, every time something happened, something didn't go right, and the men, some of the men said something to her, she'd go to the nearest piece of equipment and cry. The guys just got so they'd see how many times they could make her do that."

The miner from Maryland—a woman whose true grit brought her through a disabling mine accident a couple of years ago and whose fellow miners in the local UMW sent her as a delegate to last year's union convention in Denver—is not so pessimistic about the men as are her sisters further to the south in West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. "The men are learning that the women can do the work," she told me. "They aren't as threatened by it any more, and some of them even like the chance to talk to the women."

One of the reasons that the women from the northern coalfields seem less embittered than the women from southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky is that central Appalachia has a one-industry economy. Outside of coal, there are few good jobs, for men or women.

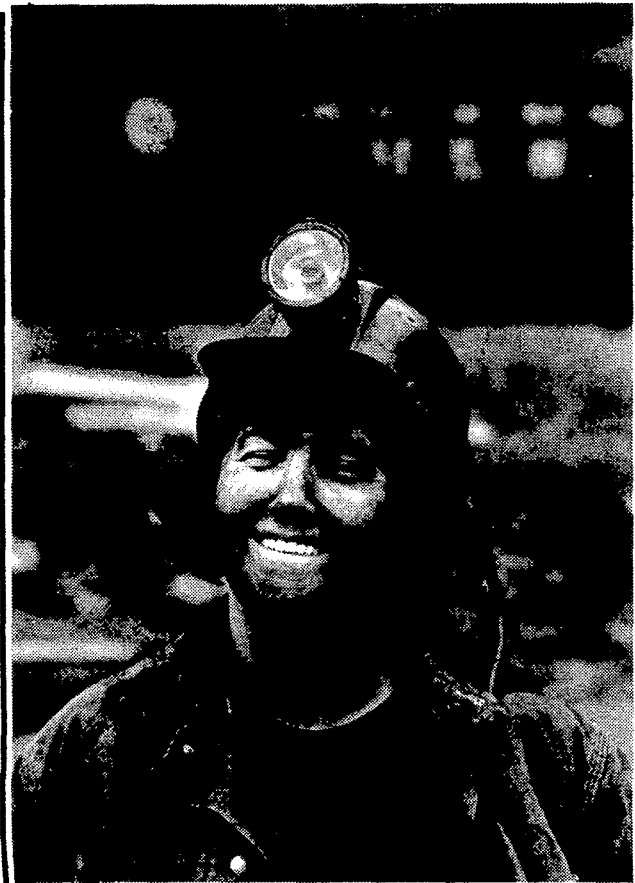
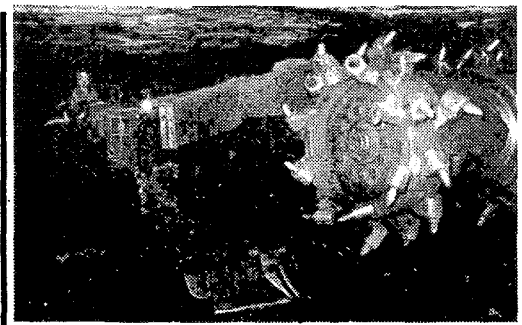
In addition to the fighting spirit that now confronts the men who seem to be standing in their way, these women who do manual labor also have an edge of derision when they talk about their sisters who have what they see as the cushy jobs. It's this special consciousness that these women miners have that might—if only it could—unite with that similar consciousness among the men miners and produce something approaching a working union of needs and goals.

But right now many of the women in the mines tend to define men—grunt laborers or head-office flunkies, it doesn't seem to matter—as the enemy. A woman miner from Illinois said that working with men, and working *for* men, was like being danced backwards continually, never getting to turn and see where the next step was taking her, traded from one man to the next, sashayed into one dark tunnel after another. "I turned around one day and didn't like what I saw. And I decided I didn't like dancing backwards."

But the dance isn't over yet. Not by a long shot.

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A Deep Vein of Hostility



Photos by Earl Dotter
American Labor Education Center

